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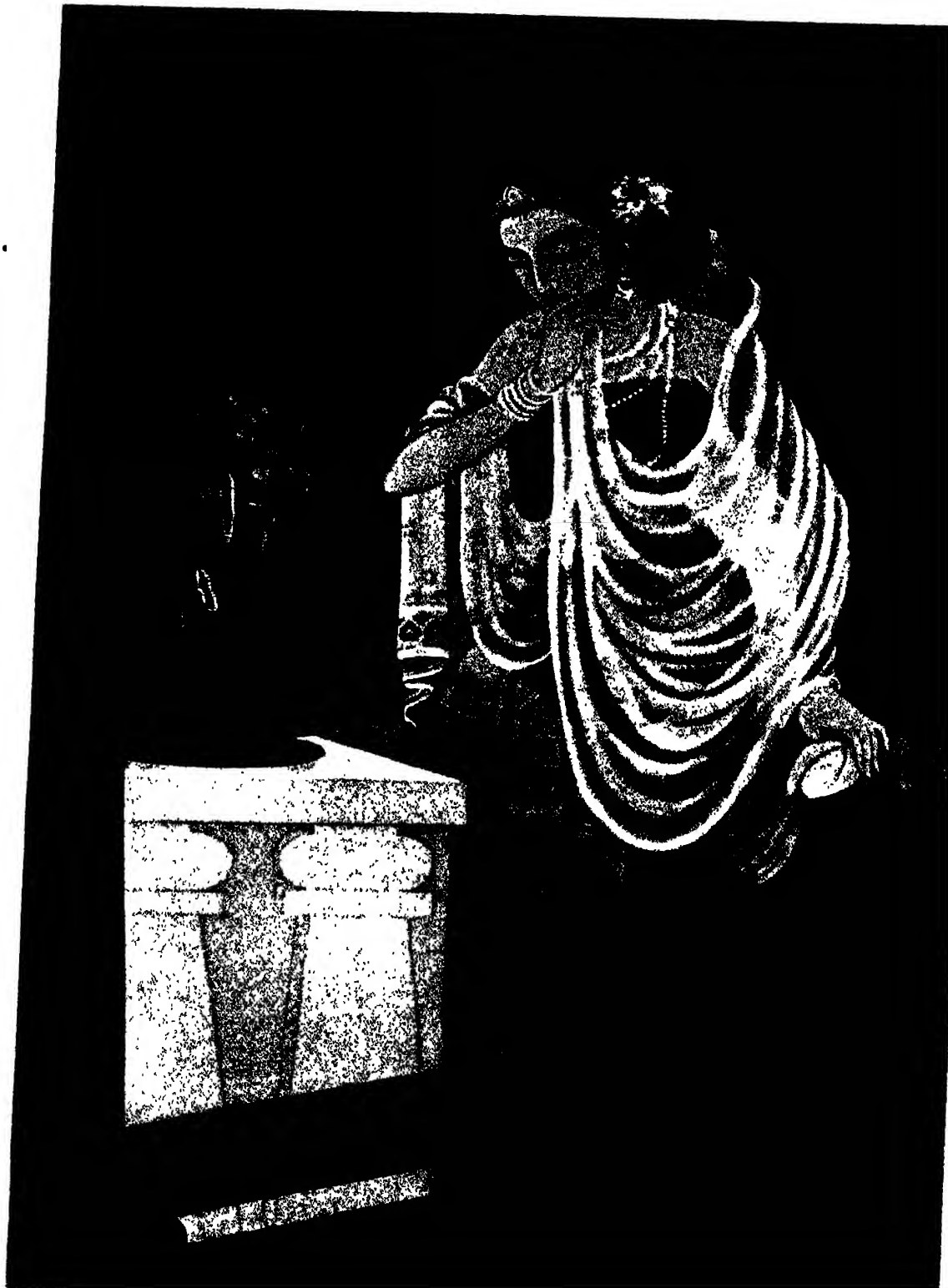
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• Polo is one of the chief sports of all districts in the Gilgit Agency. An international match is being played at Gilgit during the annual meeting of chiefs



Hunza in Kashmir : A father teaches his daughters to reap and to lay out the barley ; 'reaping' usually consists of pulling the crop up by the roots



TISHYARAKSHITA STANDING DEPORT 1911
Re. Tishyarakshita

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The New Year

The Old Year has passed out amidst the trials and agony of millions and the acute nervous tension of the hundreds of millions inhabiting the Indian sub-continent. But despite the manifold horrors to which the people were subjected and the terrible ordeals through which the despoiled, dispossessed and ravished millions of innocents had to pass, the year that has passed would be marked for ever in Indian history as the year of Independence and the year of the Parting of the ways of the two ideologically different peoples. 1947 was in all truth a year of black gloom and despair, lit only with Freedom's solitary brilliant shaft of light, cleaving through the darkness.

The year that is newly born has not brought in its train any happy augury for the future as yet. But today the nationals of the Indian Union are perhaps more ready than ever before to face the future with a stern resolve to take all that comes without flinching. With ominous signs of scarcity all around and with the increased tension consequent on Pakistan's machinations, few have hopes that our trials and tribulations would be ended in the near future. Indeed, it seems as if the nation would have to pass through the fieriest of all ordeals within the very first year of its existence. But still, though concern and deep anxiety is marked on all quarters, there is no despair to be perceived, and there is no lack of confidence in the capacity of the nation to meet all trials. If only the nation's Elder statesmen would steel their nerves, reinforce their ideals with realism and get rid of all emotional frenzies, there is no reason to doubt that, come what may, the Indian Union will survive with glory all its trials and tribulations. For just as the sole message of hope for the nation is forthcoming from the staunch attitude of the Man in the street and the Man in the field, so does, in all truth, the deepest cause of anxiety lie in the emotional vacillations and lack of realism in some of our most beloved leaders. Basic principles of

democracy of deepest significance are being ignored—even violated—by them, through over-emphasis being laid on abstract ideals, to the deep detriment of the broader interests of the nation. This is leading to the confusion of the mass-mind, creating tension and resentment in quarters where there was only loyalty and faithful trust before.

The time has come when our trusted leaders, including the Father of the Nation, have to be asked for a clear reply to a plain question. Where does the Hindu of the Indian Union stand today and what does freedom mean for him? Does he possess along with others the democratic birth-rights by which a State has to be ruled and administered for the greatest good for the majority, or is he there merely to serve as so much fuel for a burnt sacrifice—to be used as "conscience-fodder," so to say, by his leaders, just as the totalitarian Fuehrer used his people as cannon-fodder? It is the Hindu who did by far most of the fighting for liberty and offered by far the vastly greater part of the sacrifices. Then why should his interests be sacrificed at every emotional impulse of his Elders and Leaders? A State cannot be run on the lines of a Passion-play, and what would avail the working of a miracle in the minds of the recalcitrant infinitesimal minority, if thereby the trust of the hundreds of millions of the majority be betrayed?

While the rest of the world, including Pakistan, has awarded first and foremost priority towards giving strength and succour to its own nationals and devoting all its time, energy and resources towards nation-building, it seems the nationals of the Indian Union are to be doomed, to wait for ever in helpless misery.

Mahatmaji's fast will, we are sure, attain its object for the time being but the results would be futile and disastrous in the long run, unless the Pakistanis mend their ways. Indeed, this fast will enhance communal bitterness a thousand-fold on this side when the people realise the futility of all their sacrifices, and would

make the ultimate and inevitable clash horrible and catastrophic beyond all measure, unless Mahatmaji can work his miracle in Pakistan as well. And as yet we have seen not a vestige or sign of a change of heart in that quarter. Indeed, if anything, they are getting increasingly arrogant everywhere as the following example will show. The extract is from a letter written to the Secretary of the Indian Central Jute Committee with the copy of a note from Dr. B. C. Kundu, Ph.D., F.N.I., Director, Jute Agricultural Research :

I submit below a report of the incidents which took place at the Jute Agricultural Research Laboratories on the 16th, 17th and 18th December, 1947.

On the 16th December, 1947, at about 10 a.m. (B.T.) Mr. G. A. Faruqi, Secretary, Agricultural Department, Government of East Bengal, along with Khan Bahadur S. Abdullah, Director of Agriculture, Khan Bahadur Hedyetullah, Assistant Director of Agriculture (Research), Dr. S. D. Chowdhury, Economic Botanist, Mr. Yusuf, Economic Botanist and Dr. M. O. Ghani, Chief Chemist came to me and wanted to take possession of the Jute Agricultural Research Laboratories immediately. For this purpose he asked me to give him a list of all equipments, etc. I refused to do this in the absence of any order from you and strongly protested against the tone and manners of the Secretary. He said that as we were in Pakistan, we must obey the orders of the Pakistan Government. I informed him that I was not an officer of the Pakistan Government and was not prepared to obey any orders of the same Government in the absence of any orders from my Secretary, besides there were no written orders of the Pakistan Government. He replied very rudely and with highly arrogant gesture, "I am the Government, you must carry out my orders" and then served me with a memo asking for the lists, etc. (copy enclosed). I refused to carry out his orders and explained to him that the matter of handing over charge of the Laboratories had been discussed by Sir Datar Singh and myself with Mr. Asis Ahmed, Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government over the 'phone and he (Mr. A. Ahmed) agreed to wait for 10 days. Besides I asked him for some time to consider the matter and to ring you up and the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government. He said that he could not wait even for a minute and did not allow me to ring you up or the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government. I kept quiet and refused to do anything. At this he threatened me with the dire consequences that were going to fall upon me if I did not comply with his orders immediately. He actually asked the Director of Agriculture to phone the Superintendent of Police for coming immediately and taking action against me and he gave him some written instructions. I informed the Secretary that I was fully aware of the consequences and that he would not be able to coerce me in that way. In the meantime the laboratories were full of peons, bearers, assistants, clerks, etc., of the East Bengal Agricultural Department. I found that carpenters and peons were moving about with door rings and big padlocks.

As some time went on, the attitude of the Secretary became more and more unreasonable and overbearing. His tone and manners became extremely rude and highly objectionable. I apprehended that if I did not give him the list, all the doors of the rooms of the Laboratory would be immediately locked up and they would probably give me no receipt for the articles taken over by them. Under pressure of the circumstances I handed

over the lists of equipments (each page of which were signed by me and Mr. R. L. M. Ghosh, Botanist, J.A.R.L.) under strong protest. He took the list and deputed his officers to go to each section of our Laboratories for the purpose of verification.

Soon after this I sent a letter to the Chief Secretary, East Bengal Government (copy enclosed) and after some time personally went to explain him the position. The Chief Secretary was in the midst of a conference. I waited for some time and then rang him up and informed him of all that had happened. He said that he did not receive any letter from me and could not see me at that time and asked me to see him next day.

In the meantime the officers and assistants of the East Bengal Agriculture Department checked and verified the apparatus, furniture, books, etc., and coerced my assistants to hand over the keys of the almshouses, rooms, etc. After doing all these they posted guards at the Laboratory and we were not allowed to enter the Laboratories without their permission. A note received from Mr. R. L. M. Ghose during the time I was away is enclosed herewith.

In short, the East Bengal Government has by force taken possession of the Laboratories. We were helpless as we received no help from any quarters. I tried to get you over the 'phone several times, but failed.

While the Pakistanis behave thus, what lasting benefits can accrue to the people of the Indian Union despite all appeasement?

Kashmir Question at U. N. O.

The Government of India has placed the Kashmir issue before the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Pakistan Dominion and other Dominion representatives in Delhi have also been apprised of India's intention to raise the issue before the Security Council. The Indian Government have for some time past been in communication with the British Government who have been fully posted with India's case. This decision to approach the Security Council is without prejudice to the military operations which are now in progress in Jammu and elsewhere. It is presumed that this reference is a prelude to a relentless and more vigorous drive against the raiders.

The United Nations legal counsellors at New York are of the opinion that India's decision to refer the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council is entirely proper and legal.

It is understood that reference to the Security Council is based broadly on the following lines: Pakistan, which is also a member of the U.N.O., has continued with its hostile activities against a friendly neighbouring country by aiding and actively assisting the raiders in Kashmir and Jammu which by virtue of its accession to India forms part of the Indian Dominion; repeated appeals to Pakistan to deny to the raiders the use of their territory as a base of operation against India have failed; there is conclusive proof of Pakistan's guilt by way of her assisting the raiders with all the sinews of war including oil, munitions artillery and ordinance stores. In this connection, it has been recalled that India had already offered to hold a referendum on the accession issue under the auspices of the U. N. O. even though the people of the

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State do not desire a referendum on the ground that accession of the State to India is final and complete.

Pakistan, which contested the accession of the State to India was duly informed of India's desire to hold a referendum under impartial auspices, subject, of course, to the establishment of peace following the ejection of the raiders from the State territory. It appeared that Pakistan desires no referendum but wished to force a decision by the might of arms through the subterfuge of a tribal raid.

Observers in New Delhi feel that the outcome of this reference to the Security Council will be that either Pakistan will take steps to stop the influx of the raiders in accordance with international morality or the Indian dominion must be free to take such appropriate action as might be necessary to protect the integrity of the State and of her subjects. Judging from Pakistan's usual practice of breaking every agreement arrived at with them, we do not share the optimism of New Delhi that it would conform to international law and morality even under pressure from the U.N.O. We would consider the reference as fruitful if it only clears the way for the Government of India and enables it to attack the raiders' base in Pakistan. It is impossible to stop the raids of a modern mechanised army unless its base is destroyed.

India's efforts to arrive at an amicable settlement with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue must be considered as exhausted. The two-dominion conference at New Delhi on December 22 could come to no conclusion owing to the intransigence of Pakistan to face facts and its inability to honour agreements. Agreements about the treatment of refugees and return of abducted women have all been systematically dishonoured. Even an ultimatum, handed over personally by Pandit Nehru to Mr. Liaquat Ali, remains unreplicated. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of London gives the following message splashed on on the front page of the paper :

I am able to state on the highest authority that on December 22, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, handed over to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, a formal Note which, although couched in friendly terms, states that the Indian Government is satisfied that the invasion of Kashmir has the backing of Pakistan's arsenals and trained personnel, who are held responsible for the obviously experienced direction of the operations.

The Note calls on Pakistan to withdraw the tribes and its own personnel 'immediately,' failing which the Indian Government will appeal to the United Nations Security Council. If no reply is received by Wednesday, instructions will be cabled, without further delay, to the Indian representative at U.N.O.

The correspondent says that the forces which India can maintain in Kashmir are limited by the immense supply difficulties from which the Azad Commander is free. In the past week, the invaders have felt strong enough to abandon guerilla tactics for the pitched battles which have led to Indian withdrawals. It is reported that there are 19,000 invaders in the Uri area alone; and, including their Poonch forces, the Azad army is now said to outnumber the Indians by two to one.

In view of the fact that the parleys with the Pakistan Government have failed to produce any peaceful solution, the Government of India are understood to have decided to mobilise all their military resources in order to intensify the Kashmir campaign.

Pakistan's refusal to withdraw raiders from Kashmir and refrain from hostile acts have led the Government of India to reconsider as to what they should do about the payment of remaining Rs. 370 millions to Pakistan. It is apprehended that if such a large sum is immediately placed in the hands of Pakistan it may provide sinews of war to it. There have been reports earlier that Pakistan was attempting to purchase modern arms and armaments from foreign countries and emissaries were at work for that purpose. Any large cash payments made to Pakistan at this stage might be spent on the purchase of war equipments to be utilised against the Indian Dominion.

Sheikh Abdullah has recently stated, with reference to the huge concentration of raiders along Jammu border, that the stage had been reached when the entire situation must be faced militarily. No state could allow concentrations of hostile armed bands along its borders. Pakistan officially is not at war with India or Kashmir but apart from concentrations of enemies in Pakistan and her supply of arms and ammunition, there is sufficient proof that Pakistan troops were actually fighting in Kashmir under the subterfuge of "deserters." As soon as a large number of Pakistan troops were caught in Kashmir the Pakistan radio came out with the announcement that two battalions of Pakistan troops had deserted. Sheikh Abdullah also stated that the enemy was concentrated in large numbers in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkot, Gujrat and Sakkar-garh. Total enemy strength was estimated at between one and two lakhs. All these people were armed with rifles. They had armoured cars, other weapons and had two aeroplanes. Only a few days ago, the Pakistan radio announced that two aeroplanes were being handed over to the "Azad Kashmir Government" but kept silent as to who was giving them and what were the types of the planes.

In reply to a question put by a press representative, Sheikh Abdullah made an observation which provides the key to the whole situation: Asked whether he thought that a conflict between India and Pakistan was inevitable if the present state continued. Sheikh Abdullah said, "Pakistan people fire across the borders while our army does not. This state of affairs cannot last long. No army can allow such big concentrations across the border. If the Pakistan people say they have nothing to do with the raiders, let them stop this thing. If they say that they are not capable of stopping the raiders, then they should allow India to stop them."

Kashmir Before August 15

The full details of Pakistani conspiracy with regard to Kashmir have yet to come to light. The world outside appears to know more of these, thanks to the presence of foreign correspondents at New Delhi, at Karachi, in N.W.

Frontier Province and Kashmir. And in India, we can attempt to get at the truth by piecing together items of news published in the foreign Press under banner headlines. The majority of these broadcast the Pakistani brief. The *Roy's Weekly* of New Delhi gives out a story that went to show that the conspiracy started before August 15 (1947), and that the late Dewan of Kashmir, Ram Chandra Kak, played not a very decent part in it. The names of the Nawab of Bhopal and of Sir Conrad Smith, Political Secretary to the "Paramountcy" Department, figure in the story. And the Maharaja of Kashmir was as clay in their hands. He tried to enter into a Standstill Agreement both with India and Pakistan. We will allow the *Roy's Weekly* to describe what followed:

Accordingly, he sent wires to both on August 11. The wire was delivered to Mr. Jinnah who promptly replied accepting the proposal. The wire meant for India was held up by the Muslim staff of the telegraph office and was not delivered to the Indian States Ministry until August 27. Naturally, there was no hurry to sign a standstill agreement when it had been announced that Kashmir had already signed an agreement with Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan has been at pains to mislead world opinion by asserting that his Government had no hand in facilitating the march of Tribals through his territories. They simply walked or marched over it, his Government looking in benevolent helplessness on this exploit. The London *Daily Telegraph* published the following report from Rawalpindi date-lined November 23, confirming the charge made by the Indian Union that the Pakistani authorities were helpful to the raiders on Kashmir. The report also directed attention to the hand of the Soviet Union trying to have its fingers in the Kashmir pie. How British policy would gain by allowing this story to go out into the world is more than we can say at present. The Soviet Union cannot be anxious to do an unfriendly act to the Indian Union. The *Daily Telegraph* story is as follows:

A party of 800 tribesmen from various parts of Southern Afghanistan who passed through here yesterday is going to Poonch armed with the latest pattern of Russian rifle. Pakistan Intelligence officers who seized one rifle for identification confirmed that it is this year's pattern of firing rimless ammunition.

The Pakistan Government have flown an agent to Gilgit to test reports that the Independence Movement there, although nominally a part of the Azad Kashmir Movement, is in fact backed by Russia. . . .

Pakistan Minorities

West Punjab and the N.W.F.P. have been cleared of all minority problems by driving away the Hindus and Sikhs from these two provinces of Pakistan. The plight of Hindus in Sind, who have been forcibly prevented from migrating to India because the provincial and local administrations cannot be run without them, are well-known. The Congress leaders of Sind have not let down the voiceless millions and have succeeded in drawing the attention of the High Command. Efforts are now being made to bring them into India, as has been revealed by Sardar Patel in

his Calcutta speech and the circular letter of Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Provinces. Dr. Prasad, the Congress President, is stated to have issued directives to the Presidents of the Bombay, Gujarat, Central Provinces and the United Provinces Congress Committees for making arrangements for the reception and accommodation of a large number of Hindus who are anxious to migrate from Sind. This step has been taken by the Congress President as a sequel to the representation made by a delegation of Sind Congress leaders headed by Dr. Choitram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, drawing the former's attention to the "steadily deteriorating situation in Sind as a result whereof a large number of Hindus are anxious to migrate from that province." In his circular letter to the Provincial Congress Presidents mentioned above, Dr. Prasad has also asked them "to secure for the refugees assistance from the ministry there." S. J. Sri Prakash, India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, has also been approached and it is understood that he is soon going to take up the question with the Central Government. It is also understood that the Sind situation is engaging the attention of the Government of India and Dr. Prasad is expected to place the Sind issue before the Congress Working Committee as well as before Dominion Cabinet.

The East Bengal Hindus, on the other hand, have been left to their own devices. Migration is steadily going on and it can safely be said that it had crossed the million mark long ago. Calcutta alone has registered a rise in the number of ration cards to the extent of a million. Living conditions in East Bengal may become gradually comparable to that in Sind and may be summed up as no rights, little security and constant humiliation. But there is one vital difference between them, namely, that while the Sind leaders are moving to secure succour for their people, Bengal Congress leaders, the West Bengal Government and Bengal's representatives at the Constituent Assembly have maintained a studied silence, apparently for shirking responsibility which would devolve on them as soon as facts are admitted. Most of the members of the Bengal Congress, West Bengal Government and representatives to the Constituent Assembly are themselves East Bengal men, and the betrayal of their own men has hardly any parallel in the world. In reply to a question, put by Pandit Kunzru it was revealed that Dr. Ghosh's Government had not supplied any information about East Bengal migration to the Dominion Government. Instead of detailing the day-to-day happenings in East Bengal, even a small amount of which would be sufficiently revolting, we quote below the statement of S. J. Satindranath Sen, a Congress leader of the district of Barisal which was formerly known as the granary of Bengal. It must be remembered that unlike the top-ranking leaders of the Bengal Congress, S. J. Sen lives in Barisal, his native district. He says:

Khwaja Nasimuddin, the Premier of East Bengal, deserves thanks for some clarification with respect to the Qaid-e-Azam Relief Fund. But the Central and Provincial Committees, as announced in the East Bengal Government appeal, remain the same, i.e., without a single Hindu. Both in my statements on the subject in the Press and when I met the Premier at Dacca, I emphasised this point.

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Adequate representation of the minority in the Central and the Provincial Committees should be immediately made. Relief should be for all kinds of local distress. For some time past people especially the middle-class in East Bengal, have been suffering as the price level of rice and other essential articles is far beyond the reach of the overwhelming majority of the middle-class. In Hijla and Mohendiganj police stations the level rose to Rs. 60 per maund. Even now, when the harvest is in full swing, there are places where the level is near about Rs. 30 per maund. The result of all this has been very grave deterioration in the vitality and power of resistance of the people. Gradually selling or mortgaging their movable and immovable property to keep the wolf from the door, they are making serious preparations for exodus. During the whole of last year, though we pressed for it, to our knowledge, there has been no governmental relief. So a substantial part of this fund should be earmarked for local relief and the Centre should generously supplement the local fund.

I am sorry Mr. Nazimuddin has not said anything about the voluntary character of the fund. He must have seen in the Press how various licenses are being abused and pressure exercised by short-sighted and over-zealous officers. Its only effect on the minority is to encourage the inevitability of exodus. The same effect is being seriously produced by the same type of officers in the matter of Income Tax. Some of them are augmenting the assessment 10 to 15 times on the ground that Pakistan is badly in need of funds. Can there be anything more preposterous and monstrous? Is this not completely at variance with the public statements of the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. Jinnah?

In Pakistan

The following advertisement appearing in a Lahore paper on behalf of a well-known Punjab bank throws more light on the doings of Pakistanis than any criticism by us can do.

The management of the . . . bank regrets the inconvenience caused to their patrons on account of the non-functioning of the branches in West Punjab for reasons beyond their control. The bank is making every endeavour to resume functioning as soon as possible. The Hindu and Sikh staff of the bank being afraid to serve in Pakistan, resumption of service can only begin after Muslim staff has been recruited and properly trained. For this purpose a few of our Hindu officers are staying on in Pakistan during the training period of the new staff. Such officers should receive the full and sympathetic co-operation of the public to enable them to train Muslim personnel. In case of any hardship or rough handling of such Hindu officers of the bank, it may become difficult for the bank to re-start functioning in Pakistan.

And what the friendly *Civil and Military Gazette* said in connection with the looting of non-Muslim property at Lahore and other West Punjab towns is revealing of the morals of the classes who rule Pakistan today.

People in every walk of life, from the highest to the lowest, found it impossible to resist the chance of a rich harvest while the sun of disorder shone, and the result has been all-round lowering of moral values which persist despite the cessation of murder and fire-raising.

We had experience of the same thing in Calcutta on the 16th, 17th and the 18th August (1946) when Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was Chief Minister of undivided Bengal.

Central Administration's Cost

The Finance Minister in the Central Government of India gave us certain figures of the progressive rise in the expenditure of the Central Government. The pre-war expenditure on "General Administration" was 1 crore 87 lakh rupees, in 1944-45, it was Rs. 4 crores 24 lakhs, for 1946-47 it was Rs. 6 crores 23 lakhs, and for the present year it has been estimated at Rs. 6 crores 24 lakhs. Shri Shanmukham Chetty directed attention to three factors that have been responsible for this rise—the Pay Commission's recommendations; dearness allowance payments; control measures connected with what has come to be known as Civil Supplies Department; the last item including purchase of food-grains from foreign countries at inflated prices. The members of the Central Legislature as usual subjected this rise to criticism; the Finance Minister tried to disarm them by agreeing to all that they had said, and pleaded that over this rise the "Government had no control." Shri Bichitranda Das of Orissa who initiated this discussion had to remain satisfied with the enunciation that an Economy Committee would be soon appointed to suggest retrenchment. Recalling the fate of the recommendations of previous Committees on this subject, the public who ultimately pay for these costs need not be very hopeful. The bureaucracy all the world over has developed a habit of multiplying its bureaus and inflating the number of their denizens. The New Delhi set-up cannot be an exception to this rule, until the Finance Minister reverts back to the traditions of careful handling of public monies.

Help to Provinces

Shri Shanmukham Chetty has shattered the hopes of Provinces for subsidies from the Centre to start measures for the reconstruction of their economic life in consonance with the Congress Election Manifesto. The unexpected expenditure incurred for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees from the Punjab, Sind, Beluchistan and N.-W. Frontier Province has upset all these plans. Rs. 22½ crores have been budgetted for this purpose during the seven and a half months till the end of the official year—August 15, 1947 to March, 1948. We cannot think that the representatives of the people in the Central Legislature will take this decision without demur. For more than eight years the Provinces have been kept on short ration. With the end of the war and the removal of British control from over our destiny, the Provinces should refuse to live on doles, to agree to be spoonfed by the centre. Timid finance has outlived its use. The balancing of the budget is not the last word in the plans of a Finance Minister. Expenditure on the ministrant services of the State, on health services and education that would produce a better crop of citizens, men and women, would pay handsome dividends many times over. Shri Shanmukham Chetty will have to reply to the question why the State cannot spend on purposes of peace sums equal to those which were spent

during the last war years. The Indian public unwillingly found the finances for an unwanted war. Why should it be thought that they would be unwilling to pay monies that would be devoted to bettering their own lives? India's Finance Minister must satisfy the public with regard to this query.

Two Philosophies at War

The meeting at London of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the "Big Four"—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France—that started during the last week of November last has dispersed after registering a failure again. It sat for a little over three weeks, and the differences between the Soviet Union and the "Western" Powers are no nearer solution than when they met at Moscow in April last. The ostensible reasons for failure are given in two versions, one issuing from the U.S.S.R. and the other from the U.S.A. London and Paris appear to be more restrained in giving expression to their feelings with regard to this failure. The Soviet Union has been propagandising the thesis that the United States has some dark designs in Europe, as the upholder of "free enterprise," against the planned economy of the Soviet-dominated area stretching from East Prussia to the Pacific. The United States returns the compliment by saying that the world cannot expect to have peace and happiness under the shadow of totalitarianism for which the Soviet Union stands. The Soviet Press never misses an opportunity to warn the world of "dollar imperialism", of "Anglo-Saxon" reactionary influence. And the dominant feeling in the United States was expressed by Karl Mundt in the House of Representatives in course of a speech made on November 27 last :

Europe today was a gigantic ideological battlefield . . . the United States faced two alternatives, one to pull out of Europe entirely and the other to project our influence in such a way that we can help to hold the line established between the free peoples of Europe and those who have corralled to come within the orbit of the Red masters of Moscow. . . .

With Mr. Mundt this was a "hope" only; and it is as likely to be fulfilled as the disinclination of the British Government under Neville Chamberlain to see the world disrupted into ideological rivalry and engaged in bloody war. They in Europe and America have begun to talk of a "World War III", and appear to be preparing for it.

Where is Asia ?

And in this war where stands Asia? We know that in China there has been an "undeclared war" between the Communists and the Kuomintang Government. It is affecting countries across the Pacific. For instance, in Canada under the inspiration of Labour there has been staged a stoppage of exports to China. In our own country war cries have been echoing demonstrating that we are in line with the world-wide battle of ideologies. Both in India and in Pakistan, observers appear to detect the battle-lines between "free enterprise" and Totalitarianism. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore appears to be watchful of the tendency of things in its own State:

There is little to choose between dictatorship by an individual and dictatorship by a political party; and it is the second which threatens in Pakistan. India was luckier, or wiser. The Government of India is of the Congress, but it is not the Congress. . . . This is healthy and wholesome. But in Pakistan, the Muslim League is the creator of the State and of the various Governments, Central and Provincial. There is thanks to the conditions under which election campaigns were fought (and election results were negated or changed) an inextricable inter-relation between party, Government and religion. Criticism of the Government is liable to be construed as condemnation of the party and even as political and religious renegadism. This creates all the circumstances in which totalitarianism can best flourish.

This British paper assures us that we are "luckier" or appear to be so. The Central Government in the Indian Union is not a "one party" Government. But in the Legislature the Congress Party dominates, and there are not many signs of the emergence of an Opposition—the seed-plot of an alternative Government. Constitutional *pundits* have taught us that without this development, there cannot be any democracy that Britain has popularized in the world. And though Britain is no longer the dictator of fashion, her example has been copied with a little variation here and there by different parties in the world. The Soviet Union has developed a pattern of its own which it propagates as democracy. And those who say "nay" to her do not find life made comfortable for them. And we are brought back to the battle of ideologies and practices that threatens to burst out again in a virulent form.

Military Training in India

Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister of the Indian Union, said in course of his speech made in the Central Legislature on November 27 last, that the Government had not decided "whether the new organization should be a National Militia or a Territorial Force or some other organization, and what its size should be." The general public cannot be expected to understand the esoteric meanings attached to words—National Militia, Territorial Force etc. What they are anxious about is that the mass enthusiasm created by freedom from British control should be harnessed to the service of the State, that the insult implied in the division between "martial" and "non-martial" races in India should be effaced. The military bureaucracy do not appear to have realized the value and significance of this popular feeling. But better late than never. We understand from the daily Press that "the Government of India have decided to put into operation a 6-crore (rupees) scheme for giving military training to school and college students in the Indian Union." While being thankful for this decision, we desire to press the idea that the masses should be encouraged to embrace the service of India's defence. The East Punjab and West Bengal border areas should, in this connection, receive special attention. The need for an officer cadre to organize and lead the masses is not denied. But the training of the masses has become more than ever necessary to meet the exigencies of "total war." We in India cannot afford to ignore the lessons that others have learnt with blood and tears.

West Bengal's Defence

The visit of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, India's Deputy Prime Minister to Assam and Bengal, cannot have been undertaken for ceremonial purposes. There will be mass rallies, ovations and such other things in Sardarji's honour. But more serious things will be engaging his time and attention, we are sure. Char-Sarandaspur and Char Rainagar in the bed of the river Padma that divides the two States in Bengal through the district of Murshidabad, have highlighted the situation for us all. The antics of Pakistani squatters in East Bengal have been giving trouble to the Assam Administration. A message from Shillong dated December 29 last described how a large tract of land in the Patharkandi area of the district of Cachar has been taken possession of by the East Bengal Government; the infiltration of "Pakistanis" into Goalpara, into Naga Hill tracts has also been reported. The Governments in West Bengal and in Assam appear to have been taken unawares. Both the West Bengal and Assam Governments have protested to relevant authorities at Dacca, and the latter are reported to have agreed to withdraw their forces from the disputed areas. We have reasons to believe that Muslim League National Guards were quite openly active in the areas, preparing the Muslim inhabitants in the neighbourhood for this coup. The Magistrate of Murshidabad and the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar must have been very badly served by their Intelligence Officers to have been thus caught napping. They failed to realize that they were in charge of border areas which threw certain special responsibilities on them. This could have happened only because at Calcutta and Shillong were installed Governments that had no training in the duties of rulership in a free State and who had no idea of the perils of the new life.

In Shri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari we have a philosopher who has left his militant days behind, and though a philosopher as a ruler is said to be an ideal combination, the needs of a modern State with "Pakistan" as a neighbour create for West Bengal certain new situations as a frontier Province. The Premier, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, prides himself on being an orthodox believer in Gandhian non-violence, devoted to "constructive" activities. The revolutionary patriots of Bengal whom he used to know in his youth and who have retained their interest in organizing the physical might of their people could have been of inestimable value at this hour of trial in their people's life. But he, out of fixed ideas, has kept them at arm's length, thus depriving his State of the services of the most vital element in his people's life. Dr. Ghosh, as a Bengalee, should have realized that he has much leeway to make up in organizing the ardour of his people so long kept down by British policy. Does he not know the history how the Bengalee was made into a "non-martial" race under British dispensation? And does he realize the special responsibility that has developed on him to wipe out this stigma from his people's record?

Other Provinces have been training their "Home Guards" or "National Militias" or "Territorial Forces" to constitute their "second line of defence" to keep watch and ward over their frontiers, to organize their manhood and womanhood to meet the dangers that a free country is al-

ways threatened with. We have seen an announcement in the daily Press that two battalions are being stationed at dotted lines on West Bengal's eastern frontier of 500 miles stretching from Jalpaiguri to the Bay of Bengal. 1600 men to watch over 500 miles appear to be a parody of defence of a frontier which crosses paddy-fields and creeks in a flat countryside. If the Defence Authorities think that this force is adequate, we will not enter into a futile controversy with them.

But what we are concerned with is the organization of army formations stationed in West Bengal. We propose to say it straight away that we shall not be satisfied if West Bengal's defence is effected by non-Bengalee elements alone. We want to see the Bengalee in line with them. We will be satisfied with nothing else. We want to see stationed in West Bengal's eastern frontier army formations manned by Bengalees. We want to see Bengalee men and women of these frontier areas roused to a sense of their duty as defenders of their own hearth and home. It is a truism today that in modern wars there cannot be any distinction made between combatant and non-combatant elements in the warring peoples. West Bengal being a frontier unit of the Indian Union cannot be granted any special dispensation of non-combativeness. After one hundred and fifty years of neglect, her people must be prepared to pass through greater military discipline than their neighbours in other parts of India.

Bengal's Claim on Bengali-speaking Areas

Bengal's claim on the Bengalee-speaking areas of Bihar and the adjoining States about which there has been a lot of agitation for a number of years, has now assumed great importance. It should be clear that the Constituent Assembly, which will meet in April, will not be able to postpone consideration of this ticklish issue. There is every likelihood that the present Hindi majority in it, who have been trying to get Hindi installed as State language by the force of a bare majority attained through brisk canvassing, will also try to settle Bengal's claim in their favour. The newly elected Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan gives serious cause for apprehending that the return of the Bengalee-speaking areas of Bihar will be resisted by the Hindi-speaking authorities at the Highest level. Bihar for long has been engaged in a campaign of converting the Bengalee-speaking areas into a Hindi-speaking one through the dissemination of Hindi with the ruse of popularisation of *Rashtrabhasa*. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has blurted out the truth, the saint taking a queer stand when his self-interest is touched. It is now clear that Hindi has been exploited as an insidious form of territorial aggrandisement. Dr. Prasad is angry with the Hindi Sammelan because they have not succeeded in defeating Bengal's claim on these areas through a successful propagation of Hindi. Knowing as we do Dr. Prasad's efforts to crush Bengalees in Bihar, his last utterance has not been surprising but West Bengal will commit a blunder if she still remains complacent on the verbal assurances of the High Command.

Sardar Patel's action in allotting Seraikela and Kharswan to Orissa instead of amalgamating them with Bengal, is another proof that all is not well with Bengal at the highest New Delhi level. Pressure, it seems, was put upon the Government of India from within as much from outside immediately to rescind the original order of the States Department for the amalgamation of the two States with Orissa and to issue a fresh order for their merger with Bihar on the ground that the two States are contiguous to the district of Singhbhum and constitute as was claimed, a part of Singhbhum and therefore of Bihar. This pressure from Bihar seems to have borne immediate fruit. A *communiqué* has been issued by the Government of India stating that the arrangements made about the different units of the Eastern States Agency are only temporary without prejudice to the claim of any province to have any one of these States. Although the initial success goes to Bihar, Bengal should also welcome this latest statement of policy because it leaves the question open. As has been pointed out by the *Hindustan Standard*, the incorporation of the States of Seraikela and Kharswan with Orissa constitutes a grave injustice not to Bihar but to Bengal, or rather to West Bengal which alone has the rightful claim not only to these two States but also to its contiguous districts of Singhbhum, Manbhum, Santal Parganas and Purnea, which at present form part of Bihar.

Bihar's claim to Seraikela and Kharswan, as on those four eastern districts, is only fantastic as there is no linguistic, cultural or ethnological affinity with Bihar. In Seraikela, 30 per cent of its population are Bengalees, 25 per cent Oriya, 20 per cent Santal, 16 per cent Ho and only 3 per cent are Hindustanis. Even assuming that the remaining 6 per cent have greater affinity with Hindustanis than with any other group in the State, Hindustanis would even then constitute only 9 per cent of the population. The fact really is that Seraikela and Kharswan are parts of the Dhalbhum Pargana of the Singhbhum district which is predominantly a Bengalee-speaking area and culturally, historically and ethnologically form part of Bengal. Dhalbhum is contiguous to Purulia on the one side and Midnapore on the other. This Pargana, and in fact the whole of Singhbhum, had formed part of the Midnapore district. In the 1931 Census, it has been clearly stated that "outside Jamshedpur town Bengali is the dominant language in Dhalbhum, Oriya comes a bad second and Hindustani a poor third." Bengali in this area is also the subsidiary language for the Adibasis. Recent investigations have revealed, states the *Hindustan Standard*, that the most ancient documents in the Raj Sherista, as well as in the District Record Room, so far as matters relate to Dhalbhum, are all in Bengali. Out of the documents that are registered in the Dhalbhum Sub-Registry Office every year, not more than one in every thousand is in Hindi, not even one in Oriya, about 5 per cent are in English and the rest are all in Bengali. So well-recognised is the predominant position of Bengali in Dhalbhum that the court language in the sub-division has all along been Bengali. The position is substantially the same in

the two States on which have fallen the greedy eyes of Bihar.

The machinations through which these two States have gone to Orissa have been revealed in an article contributed to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The Capitals of these States exercise great influence over the rural areas, because the ruling dynasties, their leading officials and the urban population are Oriyas. Oriya has, for some time past, been made the official language of the States and the medium of instruction in their educational institutions.

The same writer gives an account of Oriya and Bihari activities in Singhbhum and Manbhum for altering the Bengali language and culture in their respective favour. Bengal's activity there is conspicuous by its absence. Organisations, both political and cultural, have been set up under different names in Singhbhum working for the incorporation of this district in Orissa. Large amounts are being spent for the establishment of Oriya Schools in institutions to infuse Oriya culture among an unwilling people. On the political front, the claim for the incorporation of Singhbhum in Orissa is vigorously agitated and pursued. Bihar is already holding the district and trying by every means in its power to retain it. Bengal has no organisation and no activity there. Under such conditions a perplexing situation prevails among the local Adibasis who neither desire to remain in Bihar nor like to join Orissa because both are alien to their culture and tradition. In their exasperation they have started a separatist movement for an autonomous homeland of their own in default of any co-operation or sympathy from Bengal to which they are closely related by a common culture, tradition and language. It is significant that although Singhbhum is under the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee maintains and operates its offices at different centres in Singhbhum which actually function in competition with the Bihar Congress organisations. The Bengal Congress maintains no organisations there. It is a pity that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has not yet thought fit to establish an office even at Jamshedpore although Orissa P.C.C. offices are briskly functioning at Chakradharpur and other places of Singhbhum. In Manbhum, 70 per cent of the population are Bengali-speaking and Adibasis constitute the remaining 30 per cent. Almost the same is the case with Pakur in Santal Parganas and the Kishanganj area in the Purnea district.

Congress is committed to the reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis, but some of her top-most leaders have not concealed their eagerness to go back upon this accepted principle. The subject of reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis has been under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly and different provinces in South and Central India are pressing forward their claims. Gandhiji has supported this move, to which Congress stands committed, in respect of many provinces but has not yet mentioned Bengal. It is high time for the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to move into the matter, assert themselves and get the immense wrong and harm done to Bengal rectified. Delay would be dangerous.

NOTES

West Bengal Under the B.P.C.C. Ministry

After the Mountbatten decision had settled the matter of partition, West Bengal, as defined under the National division came under the regime of a dual Ministry. There was in existence the League Ministry under which Bengal was torn up with famine, communal disturbances and ruthless oppression and its economy was totally disrupted through malpractices, corruption, black-marketeering and profiteering on a titanic scale carried on largely with the knowledge and backing of the administration. The story of that process of decay and degeneration of the services is a long one, but some day a full history will be written giving the detailed background of the Rowland Report.

In accordance with the Mountbatten decision, a "Shadow Cabinet" came jointly into office at the beginning of June, 1947, professedly to look after the interests of the people of West Bengal in particular, and that of the Nationalists of Bengal in general. This "Shadow Cabinet" was in office for nearly two months and a half, which was ample time in which to observe the root causes of the decay of administrative processes and to devise a plan for the process of reform and regeneration that was essential to relieve the suffering of the people. In due course came the Partition award and the "Shadow Cabinet" materialized into the Cabinet in sole control of the administration of West Bengal. The people heaved a sigh of relief, as they thought that since the Congress had come into power, reforms and redress would soon be under way and the question of the betterment of the people with relief, rehabilitation and stamping out of black-marketeering, maladministration and corruption, would be tackled in a methodical and planned fashion.

But West Bengal had made a mistake, for it was not a Congress Ministry that had come into power, to form a democratic government of the people in accordance with the Congress ideals, to rule the province by the people for the benefit of the people. On the contrary, it was a caucus of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee that had obtained control of the province, to rule it through its chosen tools, for the aggrandisement of its own particular party faction. It had learnt little during its "shadow" regime, beyond noting certain League methods for future use, and it has done nothing for the relief and regeneration of the province in the five months that it has been in full control. Scarcity of the essentials of life is on the increase, costs are rising on all sides and the profiteer and the black-marketeer is still carrying on his malpractices with impunity. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the comparatively high literacy of the province, there has been no communal trouble in the province beyond a momentary flare-up. There is no strain on the finances of the province either for the present. Yet there are no indications of any nation-building activities, nor is there any attempt at the rebuilding of the morale and the restoration of the efficiency of the province. The administration is as loose and lackadaisical as ever and the only things that are on the increase are inefficiency and the costs of adminis-

tration. The voice and opinion of the people still count for as little—if not even less—as it did under the rule of the British bureaucracy.

In short Bengal is having a taste of the Caucus rule—which is running true to pattern—that has been imposed on this unfortunate people under the false label of a "Congress government." The Indian National Congress has all along stood for the ideals of democracy. But the party-faction that has today obtained control of the province of West Bengal, did not come into power through democratic and open methods, nor is it willing, even today, to change its methods. Let us illustrate the point.

At the time when the question of partition of the Punjab and Bengal was being discussed in the All-India Congress Committee, it was decided by the Working Committee that directly the Partition was settled the Provincial Congress Committees concerned should be split up into Zonal Committees so that each partitioned sector could work out its own problems in accordance with the people's will as it obtains in that sector. But this evidently would go against the interests of the Party-bosses who now dominate the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee through low intrigue and fraudulent methods of voting and election. East Bengal is the main source of strength for these party-bosses, the tens of millions of its Moslem people—almost all hostile to the Congress—providing numbers of fraudulent votes for the B.P.C.C. So what would happen to the party-bosses if Zonal Committees are formed? And, therefore, in West Bengal, no Zonal Committee has materialized. We append below two letters from Acharya Kripalani, the then President of the A-I. C. C. to prove our statement. It should be noted that Sri Kali Pada Mukherjee, to whom the letters are addressed, is a Minister in the Ghosh Cabinet of West Bengal, who has not relinquished his Secretaryship of the B.P.C.C., for obvious reasons.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Camp : 6, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi

22nd August, 1947

My dear Kali Babu,

I had personally talked to you about the formation of the Zonal Committees. Now that the Boundary Commission has given its award there should be no delay. I am sure you realize that after the decision the problems affecting the two Zones are different. I saw this in Sind. The problems of Sind are quite different from those of the Indian provinces. Sind has therefore to refer to me for any fundamental policy about which there is doubt. While West Bengal is a province of India, East Bengal is not so. Therefore if in East Bengal Congress organisation is to be kept up it cannot be tacked on to West Bengal but must have direct access to us in the matter of fundamental policies to be followed.

I have already told you as to how the Zonal Committees are to be formed. The delegates from each Zone form the Zonal Committee. The members of the executive of each Zone form the executive for the Zone. The new office-bearers for the Zone may be elected. The President of the B.P.C.C. as he belongs to East Bengal may continue to be President of the East Bengal Zonal Committee as also the B.P.C.C. If there is any Vice-President

from the Western Zone in the present Committee he may be elected the Acting President of the Western Zone till fresh elections are held.

The matter must be expedited. You have nothing to do except to make the necessary announcement. If this is not done I may be obliged to issue orders from here that Zonal members are free to meet and transact business.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. B. KRIPALANI

Sri Kali Pada Mookerjee,
Secretary, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee,
115-E, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta.

Copy to: Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose,
Camp: New Delhi.

ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
6, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi

Dated 1.9.47.

My dear Kali Babu,

Your letter of the 29th August. When we personally met during my last visit to Calcutta you told me that the Boundary Commission having given its award, the Zonal Committee will be formed. Now I see that your Committee is not prepared to give effect to the decision of the Working Committee. You even doubt if that was the decision though you have been told so by the Secretaries and myself. You refer to your President's letter which was not addressed to me but to the General Secretary. Only a copy was sent to me. I was not therefore called upon to reply. But if you must have a reply from me I must tell you that whatever the Permanent Secretary wrote at first was an obvious mistake. The argument given in your President's letter against Zonal Committee would apply even to the Zonal Committee if it were created in the eastern Zone only. The decision of the Working Committee seems to have been wrongly worded by the Permanent Secretary. He immediately corrected it. The Working Committee does not pass resolutions only. It also takes decisions that are recorded. What the Permanent Secretary wrote afterwards was the correct decision of the Working Committee. It could not be otherwise.

In taking this decision the Working Committee was not influenced by any resolution of any Conference but by the new circumstances created by the political division of India. Not to adjust oneself to the changing conditions and to ignore them is not political wisdom.

I had a talk with your President on the point. I am sorry to say he failed to see the changed situation. I think he and those who think with him are harming the best interests of Bengal. I am sorry to say this about those whom I consider as dear friends. But political judgment may differ. I have only to warn you about the consequences of delay. *Already there is an idea that East Bengal has been trying to dominate West Bengal.* If Zonal Committees are not formed this feeling of antagonism between East Bengal and West Bengal will grow. But you will say that you know the feelings there better than myself. That could not be theoretically denied if there were not vocal opinion with arguments given by the other side. You must, however, remember that I have not given you my opinion but the judgment of the Working Committee. As you seem determined to take time I can only keep all the papers before the next meeting of the Working Committee. But may I suggest that at least for the distribution of membership forms the B.P.C.C. should make itself above suspicion by entrusting the task to a West Bengal Committee. Such a Committee may be formed in consultation

with Sri Prafulla Ghosh and any other person who represents West Bengal as constituted today. You know there are always complaints about the distribution of forms. You will show your bona fides if you do this little.

I am afraid we are concerning ourselves with our small groups and parties at a time when the country is passing through the most difficult times.

As for the publications of my letter to you a copy of which I sent to your President, the responsibility is not ours. However, I may remind you that the decision about the formation of the Zonal committees was not considered a confidential decision.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. B. KRIPALANI

The Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

With this background, the intolerance towards public opinion and obduracy of Premier Dr. Ghosh can be well understood. When those characteristics are coupled with almost absolute ignorance and inexperience in administrative affairs, the results are bound to be disastrous. At the time of our going to press there is talk about a change in the Ministry. *There is little hope from such a change* if it merely means that another group of professional dealers in corrupt politics obtain mastery over the destinies of West Bengal, using the name and status of Dr. B. C. Roy as a shield to hide their malpractices. Indeed, it might even be worse, unless Dr. B. C. Roy is extremely careful in his choice of associates.

The Ghosh Administration in Bengal

We have till now refrained from making any comments about Dr. Ghosh's Ministry, though we were pained to find the rapidity with which Dr. Ghosh had started copying the methods of his predecessor, with the hope that things would improve as soon as Dr. Ghosh sensed the trend of public opinion. We regret to have to admit that our hopes have been belied.

The list of officers appointed in key positions by Dr. Ghosh at the time of the transfer of power came to us as a surprise. Many officers of proved honesty and ability had either been excluded or relegated to unimportant positions and many of those who had either proved worthless or had actively worked against the interests of the country were placed in high positions. Private patronage was writ large on the list. The Secretariat was filled in the main with the inexperienced, such as the civilians from the judicial cadre with little administrative experience, and with the proved incompetents, the inevitable result of all which has been gross inefficiency.

Appointments at the Calcutta Police Headquarters at Lalbazar, from the very beginning, were equally bad, if not worse. On the efficiency and honesty of the staff at Lalbazar depends the peace and security of Calcutta on which in its turn depends the tranquillity of all West Bengal and a good deal of India.

It is now further being stated that Dr. Ghosh's Cabinet has practically decided to amalgamate the Calcutta Police and the Bengal Police. The matter is of moment because just now the people of India can-

not afford to let Calcutta become a ground for retrial of rejected theories. On Calcutta's security and strength depend the stability of India's Eastern defences to a very large extent. The danger of lowering the effectiveness of Security arrangements in Calcutta had already been demonstrated during the communal carnages of 1946-47. Dr. Ghosh, the Bengal Premier, brought a number of inexperienced police officers, having no knowledge of the city criminals, their habitats and their *modus operandi*, into the City Police right at the beginning of his tenure and placed them in high positions. The result had been very disquieting, as immediately after these postings, there was a serious increase in armed robberies and other crimes in the city. When the "district" police officers failed to cope with the situation, as was only to be expected, a batch of Calcutta police officers were selected to form an Anti-Robbery Squad. Armed robberies, since then, have been practically brought under control and the previous crimes are being traced. This, together with the recent detection of Pakistani smuggling, has proved, if proof was necessary at all, that rural and metropolitan criminals differ radically in character and therefore different standards of investigation are needed to stop them. In India, from the time of Manusamhita and Kautilya down to the present day this distinction has been observed, as has been the case in every other civilised country. It is very difficult to understand Dr. Ghosh's eagerness to break this age-old tradition. At a recent press conference at the Calcutta police headquarters, in the presence of the Police Commissioner and a number of Deputy Commissioners, the Deputy Commissioner of the Detective Department admitted, in reply to a question, that at least six years' experience was needed for qualifying an officer to be placed on detection of city crimes. Unless the top men of the Calcutta police have requisite knowledge and experience of the city crimes and criminals, the entire work of the police stations are bound to become inefficient.

A reference to the reports of Sir Henry Harrison, Sir Stuart Hogg, Sir John Lambert, Mr. David Lyall and many other police administrators of high reputation will reveal that all previous proposals for amalgamation were turned down on the ground that it would lower the efficiency of the administration and foster friction and jealousy within the force. The present talk of amalgamation, together with the influx of district police men in all the ranks, has already generated jealousy and friction within the force threatening its integrity and discipline. The recent arrests of a clerk at the office of the Assistant Inspector-General of Police, dealing with transfers and postings of the force, on a charge of bribery, and of six armed police constables brought from the districts into Calcutta on a charge of robbing a passerby on a highway, while on patrol duty in a police lorry, indicates the level of indiscipline to which the force has sunk at the very inception of this proposal.

Corruption and inefficiency is still going on in the Civil Supply department. Dr. Ghosh's Ministry has not been able to fulfil its promises regarding the

eradication of those evils from that department. Given proper encouragement, information would have been forthcoming from inside the Civil Supply Office regarding the collusion of certain officials of the department with the black-market. Indeed right at the outset of its tenure the Ministry received such information, but no action was taken against the officials concerned. In another case a junior officer of the Enforcement Branch brought a flagrant case of black-marketeering directly to the notice of the Civil Supply Minister. Big men were involved and they had influence, so the result was that the zealous officer, who had detected the transaction and tried to urge the Minister into taking action *was summarily dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner in charge as a disciplinary measure*, the grounds for dismissal being that this junior officer had gone over the heads of his immediate superiors and laid information directly with the highest authorities. After the orders for dismissal were passed, the victim went to the Civil Supply Minister and asked for protection and redress, pointing out that the Minister concerned had himself asked all officials to go to him directly when such serious cases of moral turpitude involving corruption and black-marketing were involved. The Minister pleaded inability to intervene and the officer was reinstated only after there was considerable adverse comment in the press.

As with the anti-corruption drive, that for procurement has misfired, due to there being no strong hand at the head to enforce action in either direction, to encourage and promote honest officers and to put down and punish the dishonest ones. Black-markets are flourishing as a result and procurement and distribution is lagging behind in every direction. Today, when the harvest has just come in, there is scarcity and cutting down of rations to below the minimum subsistence level in all the rationed areas. And the same is the story about all the controlled materials, and the consumer is being victimised everywhere in every way.

As in the Secretariat and the Police, appointments have been made by Dr. Ghosh in other departments without due regard to the ability, experience or qualifications of the officers appointed. The general result has been a down-grade movement, without any hopes of betterment in the near future. A Public Service Commission for Bengal has been appointed at last, but the personnel of that body also seems to have been chosen with more emphasis towards acquiescence towards Dr. Ghosh's dicta than anything else. In the Education Department, Dr. Ghosh has turned matters topsy-turvy at the bottom, stopped the functioning of the two colleges for the training of primary education teachers, and has held up the functioning of the Sargent Scheme without replacing it with any well-laid-out plan of primary education for the province. He has looked upon higher education with a step-motherly eye and there is a distinct divergence of opinion between Dr. Ghosh and the University and college teachers. Here, as in all departments, Dr. Ghosh has been seeking for and being guided by yes-men. A most unworthy person, with extremely doubtful

political antecedents, was appointed Secretary to the Advisory Committee on Secondary and Higher Education set up by Dr. Ghosh's administration. This gentleman has now been appointed as the Secretary of the Public Services Commission. This appointment is typical of Dr. Ghosh's attitude of irresponsibility towards the people of West Bengal, as the sole point in favour of this ex-Radical Democrat is that he happens to be matrimonially related to that political stooge of Dr. Ghosh who made room for Dr. Ghosh in the West Bengal Legislature.

What surprised us most is the exclusion from Educational Committees of Dr. Ghosh's Administration of S. Ananthnath Basu, an acknowledged authority on education and who has gained knowledge as a delegate to the UNESCO about the latest improvements in educational methods of the world.

In the posting of surplus officers who have opted for West Bengal, the very approach has been wrong. Instead of fitting persons to services, a policy of fitting salaries to the vacated posts was adopted. The result has been that accountants have gone where clerks were needed and Sub-Registrars have been posted where auditors are required. In the Sales Tax Department, nearly sixty tax officers and inspectors have gone over to East Bengal. Qualified auditors and accountants were required to replace them, and a large number of them came from East Bengal. But because their salary was less than that of the outgoing officers, and because the salaries of Sub-Registrars and Sub-Deputy Collectors were the same, the latter have been posted there. With no knowledge of audit and accounts, it is impossible for them to prove useful at the Sales Tax Office with the inevitable result that while the taxes will continue to be collected from the consumers, little of it will go to the public exchequer. It is also doubtful whether persons on the wrong side of life will be able to master a new subject which requires years to learn. Consultation with the heads of the departments as regards the kinds of officers they require and the fitting of men to the departments at their own pay would have solved the entire problem. But Dr. Ghosh is impervious to reason and advice. He has declared in many press conferences that he is guided by "the grey matter in his head" and he is determined to continue to do so. Meanwhile, during the five months of his regime, the people have become exasperated and serious concern has arisen in public mind about the dangerous risk the province is running in entrusting the administration in him.

At the present juncture, the foremost duty of the Government is to arrange for military education and prepare for defence. He seems determined not to do either of them. East Bengal refugees are pouring in this province, he is not prepared to face this fact and to distribute the refugees all over the province in a planned manner but wants to evade responsibility by mere denials. He has also withheld information of the arrival of East Bengal refugees from the Central Government in spite of the fact that in Greater Calcutta alone, during the past few weeks, the number

of ration cards have gone up by a million. Immediate considerations of defence, relief to refugees and future programmes of reconstruction all require that Dr. Ghosh with his group, impervious to all reasons and advice, must vacate office for the safety of the people.

The Birbhum bye-election referred to above, through which Dr. P. C. Ghosh, the Premier of West Bengal, was returned to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, had its lessons for Dr. Ghosh, if he only had the capacity to assimilate them. The main lesson was that the days of political jobbery are slowly coming to an end. In this election, his rival who has no political record whatsoever and is not even a native of the Birbhum district, being only a senior lawyer in an obscure district bar, scored nearly 11000 votes out of a total of about 33000 against the sitting Premier of West Bengal, who was a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and Birbhum is a staunch Congress District to boot! For comparison, we would merely state that a year ago Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, a veritable titan amongst the non-Congress leaders of India, barely managed to get one-tenth of the total votes cast, when he was defeated by one of the obscurest of Congressmen of Bengal. In the Birbhum election, Dr. Ghosh came within an ace of defeat, being saved at the very last moment through the full weight of the A.J.C.C. and the B.P.C.C. being thrown in his favour through an *Ukase* being issued by Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, calling on all the faithful to ward off the defeat of the Congress.

When Dr. Ghosh realised that his position was shaky, he turned for assistance to the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, who in an appeal to the voters, declared, "Knowing as I do the worth and work of Shri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh I feel that to oppose him in this election would be doing a distinct dis-service not only to West Bengal but to United Bengal." Thus, it will be seen that in certifying the "work and worth" of Dr. Ghosh, in order to get him through, even the Congress President had to come down to the level of doing election propaganda for him.

But Dr. Ghosh had incurred so much unpopularity during his three-month regime for his high-handed methods, his patronage of the worst elements at the Administrative and Police headquarters and his failure to inspire confidence in his Government, that it seemed that even the Congress President's *Ukase* was not having its desired effect. He next turned to those very men whom, only two months ago, he had unceremoniously removed from the Ministry. Shri Jadabendra Nath Panja, the first Finance Minister in his Cabinet, went to the constituency and in spite of his ripe old age did yeoman's service in turning the tide of unpopularity in favour of Dr. Ghosh. The leaders of the Hooghly district, whose sympathy he had alienated by refusing to listen to their advice in the final formation of the Cabinet, also came to his rescue and appealed to the voters to vote for Dr. Ghosh. The Communist Party also mobilised their full strength and worked in co-operation with the Congress workers. It is also worth mentioning that almost all the newspapers of Calcutta gave full support to Dr. Ghosh, and some of the Ministers went there for conducting the election propaganda in person.

Foreign Capital

Mr. N. V. Gadgil, India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power revealed in a speech at Madras that the Government of India were actively considering the question of encouraging foreign capital either through the agency of foreign firms or foreign governments in the execution of major projects in the various provinces. Mr. Gadgil said that he was aware of prejudices in certain quarters about the utilisation of foreign capital and talent and declared, "These prejudices were valid before August 15 but now that we are free, whether it is foreign talent or capital both are going to be completely under our control and will be made available and acceptable on our own conditions. I do not think, in the present circumstances of the world, there are countries which can afford to neglect both or either of foreign capital and talent."

He also said that there were two limiting conditions in the way of our industrial advancement and added, "One is shortage of technical man-power and the second is that of finance. By speaking in an unorthodox manner, I refuse to believe that the second one is really an impediment. The question of encouraging foreign capital is engaging the attention of the Government."

Two different things have here been unnecessarily mixed up. India can have no objection in bringing foreign experts. They will come here and work under stipulated conditions under terms of the contract mutually agreed upon and will have no option to go beyond that. Service of foreign experts need not be feared. But it is not so easy with the import of foreign capital. Entry of foreign capital in undeveloped countries has invariably been accompanied with foreign control ultimately leading to foreign domination. China and India are both burning examples of what mischief foreign capital is capable of doing. India has been politically free, but her economic freedom is yet to be attained. The foreign agency houses still continue to follow their predatory economics of exploitation and unfair competition unchecked by the Central or Provincial Governments. Mr. Gadgil has spoken of keeping foreign capital under control, but till the Government of India has succeeded in putting a stop to the predatory economics of the foreign Agency Houses, the hopes held out by him of future control of fresh capitals from abroad will not be convincing.

Capital, in every country, has only one aim, amassing of bank balances for the few at the cost of the many. Indian capitalists are no exception. It did not take them probably more than a few hours to forget that they owe their fortunes to the protective duties enjoyed by them for decades together, the enhancement of cost having been borne by those very consumers who later on were mercilessly fleeced during the war and post-war years. Most of them now seem eager to let in foreign capital to be worked jointly with them for the merry exploitation of the masses. With the protection clauses for British capital in the Government of India Act wiped out, British capital has no other alternative but to combine with its Indian *confreere* in order to gain a foothold in this country. The same is the American game.

We believe that Mr. Gadgil's view of shortage of

Indian capital is not borne out by facts. Profits subject to tax are officially stated to have increased manifold between 1938-39 and 1943-44 from Rs. 377.6 millions to Rs. 1344.9 millions. There is no doubt that actual profits are much higher. There are no means of knowing the amounts of hidden profits, secret reserves, capital accumulation and various other methods of making secret profits, which have escaped taxation. Large-scale tax evasion has been admitted by Government.

The paid-up capital of companies in India rose between March, 1939 and 1942-43 from Rs. 2903.9 millions to Rs. 3163.8 millions. Later figures are not available.

The colossal amount of idle capital can only be gauged from the weekly returns of the Imperial Bank and Scheduled Banks. Total deposits in Scheduled Banks have risen between 1938-39 and November, 1947 from Rs. 2378.3 millions to Rs. 10752 millions.

Between May, 1943 (when the capital issue control was enforced) and September, 1945, fresh capital issues for Rs. 2600 millions were sanctioned. War bonds have not been popular. The tendency of the capitalists have been to avoid war loans intended mainly for drawing extra money from the market and this accounts for the enormous increase in idle money at the banks. As against a huge deposit of Rs. 10752 millions, advances account for Rs. 3685 millions and bills discounting for only Rs. 154 millions.

Higher concentration of capital and management is the last thing that should be desired in a country which is predominantly agricultural. At the end of the war, we find that 18 Agency Houses of foreign origin control 601 subsidiaries which is nearly 70 per cent of the total concerns in India and 7 Indian Agency Houses have 225 subsidiaries under them.

We believe that the most urgent need of Indian industries today is freedom from the grip of both foreign and Indian agency houses which has been the most dangerous engine for the drainage of the people's life blood for conversion into the huge bank balances of the capitalists. For a planned industrialisation suited to our own basic economic and social structure, we think, there is already enough capital in the country itself for a start.

"Peace in Industry"

The world has been getting used to the use of military terminology to describe events in civil life. War in industry has become a familiar thing, and after the combatants, capital and labour have wasted the national wealth in their quarrel, there is a period of uneasy peace as in the world of nation-States. In India also we have the same phenomenon. The Industries Conference, held at New Delhi on December 18 last, passed a resolution on "peace in industry" for three years at least. We do not see the value of this peace. For, during this truce, the combatants will be thinking more of the defence arrangements for the impending war than of serving society of which both are limbs and instruments. This particular resolution demonstrates once again that the Central Government of the Indian Union has been living from hand to

mouth, having no definite policy that they can try to implement in the immediate future. They have been tolerating profiteers and black-marketeers; they dare not touch them. Pandit Nehru in his opening speech at the Conference was mildly critical of "the employer class" who during the war years "did not behave well." He did not appear to understand how "in spite of the tremendous and heavy taxation" in India, this class made "vast fortunes". He assumed that those who were present at the Conference, representatives of the Government, of capitalism, of labour, were all "honest people," and seemed to suggest that "honest people" failed to reconcile differences as distinct from dishonest who "sooner" made up their differences. This excursion into human psychology has not, however, taken us nearer a solution of the dispute between capital and labour, and the three years' truce resolution may prove to be as ineffective as the appeasement policy of the Congress High Command towards the "Pakistanis." This attempt to balance themselves between capital and labour takes us nowhere except to futility. This prospect does not taste well in the context of the freedom that we have acquired. With capital and labour failing to meet the consumer goods necessity of the country, the Government should not wobble.

Minority in Sindh

There is an impression in the country that things have been happier with the minority community in Sindh than in the other provinces of "Pakistan." Premier Khuro of the province has been loud in his protestations that the minority of 15 lakh Hindus have nothing to be afraid of, although 3 lakhs of them have already left their hearth and home. It is true that the bestiality that broke out in West Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province has been absent. But pressure of a more insidious character has made the life, honour and possessions of Sindhi Hindus wholly unsafe. The resolution passed by the Sindh Assembly Congress Party at its meeting of December 11 last described conditions that have made the future of the minority in Sindh dark indeed. The following restrictions have been placed on the officer class amongst Hindus:

No Hindu Government servant could draw anything from his Provident fund as a loan.

No Hindu Government servant should be given any advance for any public works, e.g., for purchase of motor car or for building a house, etc.

No Hindu Government servant should be given any leave, privilege or casual, except in case of *bona fide* illness but even then that leave should not exceed a week or ten days.

No Hindu Government servant should be allowed to commute his pension or part of his pension.

No Hindu Government servant should be appointed as Head Clerk of any department.

No Hindu Government servant should be appointed as confidential correspondence clerk of any department.

No Hindu should be appointed in the Central Investigation Department.

In order to prevent Hindu Government ser-

vants from leaving Sindh it is reported that the Government is considering the question of taking photographs of Hindu Government servants and passing on the same to the police to prevent Hindu Government servants from leaving Sindh. Hindu Government servants are also being warned to send for their families otherwise suitable action would be taken against them.

Wholesale notices have been issued against Hindu *Khatedars* in several talukas in the province, prohibiting them from disposing of their agricultural produce before payment of land revenue, thus throwing them in financial difficulties as land revenue is always paid after disposal of field produce.

Shops and godowns belonging to members of minority communities are being sealed, under the Economic Rehabilitation Ordinance, without proper enquiry whether the owner of a shop is running it or not.

The Muslims are a minority in West Bengal. Have they anything like this to complain of?

Oriya-Biharee Rivalry

While Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has every reason to feel pleased with the "merger" of the Orissa and Chhatrisgarh States into the Indian Dominion, the quarrel that has started between Bihar and Orissa over the Seraikela and Kharsawan States will be taxing his patience. Here it is not a case of irresponsible "rulers," but of two Congress Governments. We have been witnesses to the tragedy at Kharsawan where about 40 aborigines were killed and a hundred wounded by the firing of Orissa police in connection with a demonstration behind which the hand of Bihar leaders could be detected. This, at least, is the impression left in the mind by a perusal of the statement issued by the office of the Regional Council of Orissa and C. P. States, affiliated to the All-India States Peoples' Conference. It is summarized below:

According to information received here, the ruler of Seraikela has been "trying to wriggle out of the agreement" with the Dominion Government, which he has signed, and to "set up the Bihar Government against the Orissa Government," in regard to taking charge of the administration of his State.

The recent propaganda in the press and activities of some of the Ministers of Bihar, the Note adds, are attributed to collaboration between some leaders of Bihar and the ruler of Seraikela. The Prajamandal leaders of Seraikela and Kharsawan resent the activities of the Bihar leaders who had never interested themselves in the agitation of the people in the States, "but are now collaborating with the ruler to frustrate what has been achieved after years of struggle."

The statement also charges Bihar leaders with egging on the Momin organization, the organization of the occupational classes amongst Muslims of Bihar, to take a hand in the game. Mr. Ansari, President of the Zamiat-ul-Momin of Bihar, is a Minister in the province. We do not like the look of things. Provincialism has too long been tolerated by Congress leadership. It is time, something is done to scotch this evil, if after communalism, provincialism is not to wreck the Indian Union's integrity.

The ambition for a greater Maharashtra, the formation of a Province in the Federation of India sheltering the majority of Marhatti-speaking people, has been consciously moving the thoughts and activities of the Marhatti people since the agitation against the Partition of Bengal when our people had put up a strenuous fight for the integrity of their cultural autonomy. Speaking at the 16th session of the Brahan (Greater) Maharashtra Parishad, Shri Balawantrao Kher, Premier of Bombay, promised co-operation in this ambition but wanted the matter to be left to the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union. Maharashtrians may not appear to be playing to-day any significant part in India's political evolution. But the people from whom came Balwant Gangadhar Tilak, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Vishnusastri Chiplunkar, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, cannot have exhausted their reserves of capacity. And in the Federation of India they are sure to make their weight felt in the near future. The Greater Maharashtra that they desire will be a stepping-stone towards this greater goal. Shri Balwantrao Kher spoke of "two Maharashtrians making a quarrel" wherever they congregated, and a Maharashtrian being "too much an admirer of his own culture and history to be able to get on smoothly" with those who do not belong to his tribe. This is not a particularly Mahashtrian foible. The Bengalee, the Biharee, the Oriya, the Andhra, the Tamil, the Kannadiga, the Malayalee and the Punjabee share the same foible and appear to gloat over it as a virtue. But out of these divergent characteristics will have to be hammered out a unity of purpose that can bind all these together. During the British regime our instinctive hatred of that had been a cement to our divergences. Now we have to reason out a new philosophy of associated life.

Assam's Problem No. 1

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is a realist. Therefore, do we find it a little difficult to interpret a statement in his Gauhati speech made during his recent tour in Assam that "Assam has fortunately no complex problems as in other provinces." Since the referendum in Sylhet basketfuls of complaints have been emptied out on his table at New Delhi, and Sardarji has promised his "personal attention" to many of these. These raise the whole question of the constitution of the province of Assam as it is today, divided by rivalry between 26 lakh Bengalees and 23 lakh Assamese-speaking people. The representatives of the latter are in power today and are trying to establish their rule over the province's life. A secret circular dated October 22, 1947, throws a little light on this matter. The circular had the name of Shri Nanda Kishore Singha, speaking on behalf of the Cachar Kalyan Samiti. Here is the English rendering of the circular :

You know that, under the leadership of the Revenue Minister of Assam (Shri Bishnuram Medhi) and with the monetary help of the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha the agitation for Bangal Kheda—drive away the Bengalees—has been going on all right. In Cachar also we have been getting results

in our efforts to oust Sylhet traders and others from the Hailakandi Sub-division and further up. The Muslim League Party are also with us. If you desire to get possession of the bazars (market-places) of Kalain, Bihara, Barkhala and Shealtak, then organize a Kalyan Samiti and a Defence Party. There need be no anxiety for finance in this behalf.

A deputation on behalf of the Cachar District Committee presented a Memorandum to Sardar Patel on January 4 during his short stay at Calcutta. Paras 4 and 5 of this Memorandum high-light the present position. In para 4 is quoted from a speech by Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, on the occasion of the last session of the Assam Assembly, the first held after the Sylhet Referendum. Sir Akbar's sentiments show that the old spirit of accentuating differences in India that animated members of the bureaucracy is still present amongst those who have inherited "British" traditions. We can only pity Sir Akbar's crude attempt to curry favour with the dominant party in Assam. We quote below the two paras :

4. That our Committee has been watching the activities of the Governor and the Government of Assam, with no small misgivings. We are not an Assamese-speaking people our dialects being Bengali and Hindusthani. The Governor in his recent speech in the Assembly on the 5th November, 1947, referred to us as "strangers" and practically sought to rouse the feelings of the "natives of Assam" (by which he apparently meant people speaking Assamese dialects) against the Bengalees. We quote the following passage from his speech to explain the position.

Sir Akbar Hydari said : "The natives of Assam are now masters of their own house. They have a Government which is both responsible and responsive to them. They can take what steps are necessary for the encouragement and propagation of Assamese language and culture and of the language and customs of the tribal peoples, who are their fellow citizens and who also must have a share in the formulation of such policies. The Bengalee has no longer the power even if he had the will to impose anything on the people of these hills and valleys which constitute Assam. The basis of such feeling against him as exists is fear—but now there is no cause for fear. I would therefore appeal to you to exert all the influence you possess to give this stranger in our midst a fair deal, provided of course he in his turn deals loyally with us."

5. That in present Cachar 75 per cent speak Bengali, 14 per cent speak Hindusthani, 9 per cent speak Manipuri while the rest constitute 2 per cent. This fact has been ignored and the Government of Assam is trying to impose Assamese language upon us. The Government is refusing facilities of Government contract, admission to schools and colleges and Trade Licenses and Permits to Bengalees and Hindusthanis whose forefathers settled in Cachar even over half a century ago, only for the reason that they were not "Assamese" in the sense that they do not speak Assamese dialect. Efforts are being made to make Assamese the Court and State language of the district, though not even one per cent of the people know or speak Assamese dialect. Our position in the circumstances is becoming intolerable.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's complacency about Assam may not last long.

"Rescued Women"

Attacks on women and their honour has been characteristic of the disturbances that coincided with the Direct Action Day of the Muslim League on August 16, 1946. Under the protection of Mr. Huseyn Saheed Suhrawardy's Ministry the Muslim League enthusiasts started the game in Calcutta. Cases of women being snatched from trams and buses were not unknown. Then came Noakhali, and 50,000 men and women were forcibly converted to Islam. With the peace campaign started under the initiative of Gandhiji and some other organizations, the overwhelming majority of these reverted to their parental religious fraternity. Then followed Bihar where Muslims were the sufferers. The nadir of degradation was reached in the Punjab, West and East, where women have suffered at the hands of Muslims and Hindu-Sikhs respectively. The number of women affected run into thousands; 25,000 to 30,000 is a conservative estimate. Their fate and future have become a "problem" especially to Hindus and Sikhs. Muslim society has a certain elasticity in matters like this while in Hindu society, men and women, have developed a particularly sensitive feeling about it. The deputation of Indian social workers, mostly women, who were sent to West Punjab have reported that many "women and girls refuse to return because they are convinced that their families, friends relations and society will not treat them fairly," that being the gist of a letter that has appeared in a New Delhi daily. The writer has called for "an unequivocal declaration on the point." Gandhiji has given it. But will his voice stir the individual conscience that count in the matter? The leaders of the orthodox Hindu community in Bengal representing all the Pundit Samajes did issue such a verdict after Noakhali. And we have reasons to believe that it carried some weight. Not all individuals were satisfied, we know. In the Punjab, the leaders of Hindu society should not be found wanting. The crisis will test the strength of their social habits. And in the new India they cannot prove to be less responsive to the appeal of sufferers who have suffered for no fault of their own.

India and the "States"

The "merger" of 39 States in the Central Province and Utkal is a landmark in the path of India's integration, threatened by many queer conceits and ambitions. Fourteen Chattrisgarh States agreed on the midnight of December 15 last to cede to the "Dominion Government full and exclusive authority and jurisdiction and powers for and in relation to the governance of the State," and they transferred the administration of their States to the Dominion Government on the 1st day of January, 1948. The one-clause Preamble to this Agreement said :

Whereas in the immediate interests of the State and its people, the Raja . . . is desirous that the administration of the State should be integrated as early as possible with that of the Central Province Government in such a manner and through such agency as it may think fit.

By this act of renunciation, the rulers of these States, the Raja or the Rani, do not cease to be

rulers, it is only expected that they will accommodate themselves to the new dispensation under which they will reign but not rule. They are guaranteed their personal privileges, status and dignity as they were before August 15. In Utkal except the State of Mayurbhanj, 25 States have accepted the arrangement. This "merger" has been hailed as a triumph of Indian statesmanship, transcending what Dalhousie achieved by his "Doctrine of Lapse"—States' territory going to the Crown in the absence of legal succession to rulership. It is hoped that the Deccan and Gujarat States will emulate this example and contribute their share to the cohesion of India. Hyderabad remains a headache. The spirit of the Nizam's Government becomes blatantly offensive in the Ordinance that has made the Indian rupee a "foreign currency" circulation of which is punishable with fine or a month's imprisonment. It is for legal *pundits* to say whether or not the Ordinance contravenes the terms of the Agreement signed on November 29, 1947. Whatever be the legal position, it is not possible to regard the Ordinance as a demonstration of a friendly spirit. Hyderabad cannot gain anything by this pin-prick into India. It is in strange contrast to what the rulers in Hyderabad's neighbourhood did on December 15 renouncing their privileges. All honour to them !

Burma

As we go to the Press, Burma has been celebrating the day of her freedom from British control, of her declaration as a sovereign Republic. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India's Constituent Assembly, has flown over to Rangoon to represent the Government of India. He also happens to be the President of the Indian National Congress. At the Rangoon function he will thus be representing both the Government and the people of India. And he has carried to the Burmese people the message of *Maitreyi* represented by sapling of the Bodhi Tree under which Gautama, the Sakya Prince, had attained supreme Enlightenment. This gift renews the kinship of Burma with India—the country whose Buddha has been the central inspiration of Burma's life for about 20 centuries. On this joyful occasion we share the feeling of tragedy that must be hovering over Rangoon as they surveyed the seats of Burma's leaders and missed therefrom the faces of U. Aung San and his murdered fellow-Ministers. Generations of Indians have helped to mould Burma as a modern country through good report and evil. In remembrance of that service we share Burma's proud joy with the hope that the unity of thought that the Buddha had helped to forge between India and Burma will reach a new flowering in the days to come.

Indians in British Territories

The question whether the Indian Union will maintain its connection with the British Commonwealth is being discussed with a certain amount of anxiety by men and women of Indian birth who for generations have been living in various countries and islands of the British Empire and Commonwealth. The *Social Reformer*

(weekly) of Bombay has started a discussion on the subject by an article written by a "Kenya Indian". It appeared in its issue of December 20 last. His article on East Africa will illustrate the position of all Indians. The writer summarized the position thus: "A majority of Indian citizens, a substantial number of British subjects or British protected persons (some of whom will possess double nationality), a few stateless persons, and a few 'Pakistanis' (assuming Pakistan also leaves the British Commonwealth)" will comprise the Indian community in East Africa, for instance. The territories in East Africa comprise Kenya, a colony, Tanganyika, a mandated territory, Uganda and Zanzibar, British Protectorates. Those who were "British subjects" by birth or "British protected persons" because they were born in British India or in the Indian States will lose their "British nationality" if India elects to cease her connection with the British Commonwealth. They will come under the definition of "citizenship" proposed by the Constitution Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly:

At the date of the commencement of this constitution, every person domiciled in territories subject to its jurisdiction who has been ordinarily resident in those territories for not less than five years or either of whose parents was or were born in India, shall be a citizen of the Federation provided any such person being a citizen of any other State may, in accordance with the Federal Law, elect not to accept the citizenship hereby conferred.

Under the proposed definition, citizenship depends on domicile with the added requirement of either residence or of parentage. Those who were born in East Africa of Indian parentage can claim to be "British nationals" thus having "double nationality"—Indian citizenship by virtue of their parentage and "British nationality" by virtue of their place of birth. Thus if and when India elects to secede from the British Commonwealth, the following changes in the status of Indians in East Africa ensue:

(a) Those born domiciled in India. These will qualify for Indian citizenship and will not possess British nationality. It will . . . comprise the major portion of the Indian community in East Africa, though perhaps a considerable number of Muslims, especially Ismailis, may claim East African domicile and seek to become naturalized British subjects.

(b) Those born in India but domiciled in East Africa. These will lose British nationality if India leaves the Commonwealth and will not qualify for Indian citizenship: they will thus be stateless.

(c) Those born in East Africa but domiciled in India. These will be British subjects by birth or British protected persons and will also generally qualify for Indian citizenship, thus possessing double nationality.

(d) Those born and domiciled in East Africa. These will possess only British nationality.

Indians resident in British territories whose prosperity they have helped to build up. Remembering that "British nationality" has not saved Indians from indignity and discrimination, as in South Africa, there need hardly be anxiety about the worsening of Indian status in British Commonwealth and Empire. About four million men and women of Indian parentage will be affected by the im-

pending change. It will be the look-out of India's Foreign Office to watch over their honour and the protection of their material interests. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru confessed in the Central Legislature that he has not been able to do much for them as yet. We can only hope that India will be able to assert herself in discussions about Indians' status in the various countries of the world. Sovereignty will have no meaning without a satisfactory solution of this ticklish question.

All-India Women's Conference

A mid-19th century British poet sang of the woman's cause being man's. Since then the "mere man" has lost his self-assurance, and the woman has lost faith in his chivalry and capacity to help. Therefore, we have, all over the world, separate women's organizations to help build up a brave new world out of the debris of the mis-shapen man-made world. The All-India Women's Conference owed its birth to some such inspiration. And presiding over its 20th session held at Madras on December 29 last, Shrimati Anasuyabai Kale recalled our attention to the many inadequacies of our social life. Since the emergence of Gandhiji into the leadership of our national movement, women in India have been taking an increasing part in activities outside their homes; they have been found at the forefront of our battle for national emancipation. Many of the disabilities that handicapped their freedom have vanished not by any act of State but under the pressure of a new consciousness that women have duties apart from and in addition to rocking the cradle. And Indian women along with their sisters in other parts of the world have shown that the intimate knowledge of life's mysteries with which they are endowed can play a great part in simplifying the problems of the modern world. Shrimati Anasuyabai drew particular attention to "the alarming increase of population" that is at "the root" of many of our problems; she would have us, the people and the State in India, "regulate this abnormal increase." This and many other problems she would put in charge of a Ministry of Social Affairs, both at the Centre and the Provinces whose duty it would be "to equalize the status of all masses"; to "remove caste distinction and untouchability"; to "safeguard social security and justice"; to advance "adult education and literacy," raising "the consciousness of the masses to assert their rights." This Ministry would codify "a new Manusmriti" in consonance with modern ideas and in response to the needs of the citizens of a free State which aspires to give a new ideal and lead to the world. Shrimati Anasuyabai Kale has set up certain standards which the State in India must reach if her people were to have a worth-while life.

"Indo-Ceylonese Problems"

Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon, came over to New Delhi to hold parley with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in order to straighten out relations between India and his island. These have got twisted owing to conflicting appreciation of certain facts of

modern Ceylon and Malabar and Tamil Nad. On his way home, Mr. Senanayake declared at Madras that "there would be no more Indo-Ceylonese problems." In the happy prospect held forth before us, it is necessary that we should understand what the trouble was about. This can be simplified thus. Ceylon has a population of about six millions, of which one million claim Indian parentage. The mainland of India and the island being near neighbours from time immemorial there has been crossings over from India to Ceylon.

The trouble started from the middle of the 19th century when British capital started to open out the island to the world's markets, when British capital started tea and coffee cultivation, and much later rubber cultivation. These new industries required the services of labour which the island could not supply. Perhaps, the simple wants of the island people could not drive them to hire themselves into contracted labour which the unemployed amongst Tamilians and Malayalees were glad to avail themselves of. With the turn of the century unemployment amongst the Ceylonese appeared, and they began to notice that "foreigners" were taking off the cream of their land. The Tamilian and the Malayalee being the weaker amongst the foreigners as compared to the British, the resentment of the native population burst upon the former. This was the same "problem" that appeared in Burma to poison relations between the two countries—India and Burma. Along with labourers in gardens came workers in the port of Colombo, both of them holding a monopoly of the labour market of Ceylon. Professional men and traders followed. This alien element in the island's life stirred the first signs of Ceylon's nationalism. This element did not get absorbed into the island society, India's peculiar social polity of castes standing in the way of such a consummation. This is, in a nutshell, the story of the "Indo-Ceylonese problems."

With the awakening of Ceylonese eyes to the reality of their economic helplessness, they started to push the Indians out of their island. As the latter desired to maintain their Indian nationality, the "problems" became subjects of political controversy. Indians contended that the creators of the island's wealth could not be discriminated against, that without being Ceylonese nationals in the constitutional sense, they should be accorded voting rights and other signs and symbols of citizenship. The Ceylonese refused to accept this plea of "double citizenship." Though we have not got the details of the satisfactory settlement between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Senanayake, it appeared that the latter has scored his point. And he is satisfied. But will the Indians in Ceylon be satisfied? How this settlement will affect the position of Indians in Burma, in Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's realm has yet to be seen. It will test the wisdom of the countries concerned.

Sugar Racket

In his post-prayer speech of December 16 evening Gandhiji quoted certain figures to indicate that there had

been a distinct tendency towards a fall in prices of things de-controlled recently. He did it on the authority of the figures given him by one Shri Brij Krishna Chandiwala. We quote this part of the speech and the opinion expressed in the last line:

The price of *gur* has fallen to eight annas a seer from a rupee. Price of sugar has fallen from Rs. 34 to Rs. 24 a maund. One rupee now bought 1½ seers of pulses instead of 14 chhataks. The price of gram has fallen from Rs. 24 to Rs. 18 per maund. The black market price of wheat had been Rs. 34 per maund. It has come down to Rs. 24 . . . The results had so far falsified the fears. The poor seemed to be better off without the control.

We do not know the name of the happy place which was the recipient of this windfall. If it be New Delhi, we can understand the motive that had led the traders and manufacturers to practise a certain amount of decency. But in Calcutta a sugar magnate has been advertising that his two stores would be selling sugar at Re. 1 a seer. In Patna, they say, sugar has been selling at Re. 1 and as. 2 a seer. These two instances ought to convince Gandhiji that he has been depending on a class of people to make a success of his de-control campaign who have ever been found to exploit a social necessity. In his *Hind Swaraj* written in the days when Bengal had made Swadeshi almost a religious duty, did he not describe how a cloth mill-owner of Western India regarded Bengalees as so many fools that were fair game for his tribe? The Indian people by their eagerness to advance Indian manufacturers imposed on themselves protective duties for these. During the last fifteen years they must have paid the sugar industry not less than Rs. 200 crores. And how has the trade responded to this generosity? How has the mill cloth industry behaved during the last eight years? Gandhiji should not have forgotten their crime.

Economy of the U.S.A.

The richest country in the world appears also to be hastening towards an economic crisis. The President of the United States in his message of November 19 last to the Congress recommending 537 million dollars interim aid to France, Italy and Austria referred to the "ominous threat" of inflation, "spiralling prices and living costs." Mr. Truman gave the world an idea of the rise in living costs that has occurred in his own country :

Since the middle of 1946, fuel has gone up 13 per cent ; clothing prices have gone up 19 per cent ; retail food prices have gone up 40 per cent ; and the average for all cost of living items has risen 23 per cent.

The housewife who goes to buy food today must spend 10 dollars to buy what seven dollars bought a year and a half ago.

The cost of living is still climbing. In the past four months it has risen at a rate of 16 per cent a year.

Wholesale prices are rising, too. They affect every industry and trade, and they are soon translated into retail prices.

Since the middle of 1946, wholesale textile prices have gone up 32 per cent ; metals have gone up 36 per cent ; building materials have gone up 42 per cent ; and wholesale prices on the average have gone up 40 per cent.

Mr. Truman's message referred to other instances of inflation in his own country that go to show that it has come to be a world phenomenon. In seeking for authority from the Legislature to combat inflation, he stressed the necessity of imposing "price ceilings on vital commodities in short supply"—food, clothing, fuel and rent; raw materials of industry also come under this category. All the powers that he seeks are intended to "stamp out profiteering and speculations" in these areas of the people's life. Since the outbreak of the Second World War, the world has been made familiar with the vicious circle of rising prices, of difficulties created for the householder as his income cannot keep pace with rising prices. The maladjustment created thereby forces the primary producers of food and the raw materials of industry to push up the prices of their commodities. Labourers engaged in agriculture and industries, even those who ply the pen, demand higher wages and pay. And the controllers of these departments of social life are forced to yield to these demands, thereby helping to start a cycle of higher prices for all consumer goods—products of agriculture and industries. Follow fresh demands for higher wages and pay. The process is being repeated, and we cannot see the end of its power of reproduction. The ordinary man and woman of the world are in general mute victims of this exploitation. He and she may not understand the beauty of it all; but he and she feel in their bones its cruelty.

I. N. A.

At the end of 1945 the Indian National Army, organized by the Netaji and led by him into the fields of Arakan, Manipur and Kohima, was the rallying point of a great recovery from the frustration of 1942 and the years following. With the I.N.A. slogan on their lips, the Congress won the 1946 election. But where are they today when so much is heard of the organization of National Militias, of Home Guards, of Territorial Armies? And we also hear that the organization of these bodies is held up because of want of trained personnel. We along with many in the world have often wondered—but never have had a satisfactory explanation—of the cause of the I. N. A.'s eclipse. We have read that the C. P. and Berar Ministry have been utilizing the services of I. N. A. officers to train their Home Guards, starting with 1200 trainees. But what of the other provinces? So far as the I.N.A. men are concerned, there appears to be a total atmosphere of studied silence. Col. P. K. Sehgal of the I. N. A. in an article in the *Teleprinters* describes what he told a Havildar in the Indian Army who had "shyly" asked his name and questioned him why the I. N. A. were not heard of nowadays.

I could not tell him that for some strange and inexplicable reason the National Government of India had no use for the services of the I. N. A. officers and men who had dared to take up arms against British imperialism to free their Motherland from the bondage of foreign slavery. Therefore, I told my Havildar friend that our Govern-

ment was so preoccupied with other affairs that they had no time to consider our cases for being retaken into the Indian Armed Forces.

We have heard that the Army High Command has been responsible for this hush-hush policy to which the I. N. A. has been subjected. But why should the Indian public also appear to be indifferent and forgetful? In these days of Militia and Home Guards, the Provincial authorities might show a more human attitude to those who offered the supreme sacrifice for the Cause. Or are the Congress Governments inclined to follow the age-old policy of neglect towards war-veterans?

Governors in Free India

In a recent issue of the *Harijan* Gandhiji took note of the objection raised by Principal Narain Agarwal to the continuance of Governors for Provinces in free India. The point was sought to be made that as Governors will, under the new constitution being framed by the Constituent Assembly, be the choice of the majority party securing the suffrage of the people under adult franchise, and the leader of the party will be elected Premier, there is hardly any sense in dividing authority between a Governor and the Premier. Principal Agarwal emphasized his objection on financial grounds, the honorarium of Governors and the paraphernalia of their office. Gandhiji sympathized with this particular point. But he appears to think that it would be "bad economy to do away with provincial Governors and regard Chief Ministers as a perfect substitute." He spoke of the "detached position" of Governors, of their being able to "see things in their proper perspective" and their preventing "mistakes by their Cabinet." We are afraid that Gandhiji has not been able to devote attention to the significance of events that have happened in Bihar, for instance. Governor Daulatram wanted to prevent mistakes by the Ministers, and he has had to quit. In Bengal, the Governor has not been able to maintain a "detached position" in the matter of the Security Bill, he is *ek dil* with the Premier in believing that there is wisdom in the Bill. These two instances go against the retention of the Governors as mere figure-heads; if they want to prevent mischief by Ministers they are made to go; if they observe philosophic reticence and a certain air of cynical amusement in relation to the Ministry, they become but rubber-stamps. Why waste money on them?

Asoka Chakra (Wheel)

The Charkha, the spinning wheel, has been associated with Congress activities since Gandhiji emerged into the leadership of our national organization. It found the central position in the Tri-colour flag of the Congress. It was, therefore, expected that the Charkha would occupy the same place of honour in our national flag. But the flag that has been accepted by the Constituent Assembly does not have the Charkha as it has been familiar to us these twenty-five years or more. Instead, the Asoka Chakra (wheel) has been adopted, and in recommending its adoption, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru said: "We are, of course, convinced that the great symbol of the wheel (of the

Charkha) should be on the flag—not the rest of the *Charkha*. The essential part of the *Charkha* is the wheel. So, we thought that the *Charkha* emblem be the particular wheel of Asoka, instead of just any wheel." Prof. A. S. Wadia writing to a Delhi weekly has pointed out Punditjee's misapprehension by saying that:

The wheel carved on the capital of Asoka's Lion Pillar at Sarnath is neither a *Charkha* nor Buddha's famous *Chakra* or 'wheel of life' of twelve spokes symbolising his twelve *Nidanas* nor for that matter any wheel at all but the age-old mystic circular emblem of the Blue Lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea*) commonly known as *neel kamal*.

Then he goes on elaborating the mystic meaning of this lotus-symbol, and thinks that 'its adoption as the central emblem of the National flag of India was no happy hit or lucky coincidence but a veritable flash of genius.' Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru is no mystic, and he has not taken the public into confidence with regard to the influence that moved the Flag Committee of the Constituent Assembly to adopt the Asoka wheel. Prof. Wadia's thesis would show that the members of this particular Committee knew not what they were doing.

Scottish Nationalism

While further afield in Asia Britain is trying to liquidate her imperialism—its signs and symbols at least—nearer home, beyond the Tweed, dissatisfaction with the "merger" effected after the death of Good Queen Bess has become vocal. The nature of this dissatisfaction is elaborated in a memorandum addressed to the United Nations Organization by the Council of the National Party which has been characterized as a "Claim of Rights." The relevant portion is quoted below:

In every one of the countless wars, in which Scotland has been involved since the union with England, Scottish man-power has been exploited to an extent far in excess of English, proportionately to population, and with no benefit to Scotland. Further, though Scotland as a territory has much ampler resources to supply the needs of her inhabitants than England can find for her inflated population, the people of Scotland have been reduced to lower levels of living than the English, as is seen from official figures of slum housing, maternal and infantile death-rates, unemployment, and many other social and economic statistics. This inveterate discrimination against Scotland has steadily increased with the centralisation of economic power in England, no matter which British, and thus predominantly English, political party has been in power.

This is a charge-sheet that rings familiar to us, as we have broadcasted something like it against the Britain constituted of England, Scotland and Wales. We can sympathise with the feelings given expression to therein. But we cannot forget the significance of the well-known tag which said that the British empire was acquired by the Irish soldiery, administered by the English for the benefit of Scotsmen. Clive Street in Calcutta sprawls as a standing witness to the canniness of Scots. And remembering its opposition to Indian Nationalism, we can hardly believe that Clive Street, for instance, will let go its grip on the life of the area south of the Tweed. But, as we live in revolutionary times, we may live to see the Scots

undergoing such a transformation thus setting free the Englishman from his thralldom.

Palestine Pot Boiling

The Labour Government in Britain has announced its decision to withdraw from Palestine by the middle of this year. The process of the evacuation of their civil services and military formations will follow in successive stages. Curiously enough this liquidation of the imperial system has the support of Mr. Churchill who had been recommending that his country should place the Mandate over Palestine on the lap of the United Nations Organization. Mr. Attlee has for once abided by the advice of political rival. But even now candid friends of Britain are a little suspicious of the sincerity of the British gesture. I. F. Stone writing in the *P.M.* of New York, a centre-of-the-Left paper, explains the reason why. The Arab League being a British creation, the British cannot persuade the world to believe that they have had not hand in accentuating the hostility of this League. I. F. Stone explains:

This brings me to the real point of this Arab "threat." The British have a bad record in the East in so far as minorities are concerned. They stood by as Iraq massacred the Assyrian Christians and they helped Iraq crush the past Kurdish revolts. Everywhere the British have supported the Muslim ruling class against Christian, Jewish and Muslim minority groups.

We who have a vivid recollection of British policy exploiting the Muslim minority in India for its own purposes can appreciate the scepticism of American observers. In connection with Palestine the British may be soothing Arab sensibilities and the sentiments of the majority, because the dynastic ambitions of Arab rulers lean on them for various reasons. And the hope may be lurking in the hearts of British die-hards that U.N.O. will find it difficult to implement its decision on partition of Palestine, and they being in possession will be recalled to straighten out the affair. In the *United Nations World* Ladislav Fazio indicated the British personalities who are still present in this area of the Mediterranean world who can play the dual game with some hopes of success. These two persons are Brigadier Patrick Andrew Clayton, "spiritual father of the Arab League," and Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, commander-in-chief of the Transjordan Arab Legion, consisting of the Transjordan Frontier Force, "the best trained and equipped military organization of the Middle East," and the Desert Patrol, "an elite guard recruited from the warrior sons of desert Sheiks" riding on camels or Bren-gun carriers with equal ease forming the "formidable Glubb Task Force that could spear-head the drive against the Jews." Clayton and Glubb are said to have got inside the Arab skin as Lawrence did during the First World War. They are "unofficially responsible to Whitehall—but it is a moot question as to how far His Majesty's Government is willing or able to curb their influence." But there cannot be two opinions that if the British desired to play fair, they could control Clayton and Glubb as they did Lawrence when they withdrew their support from Sheriff Hossain of Mecca, to whom they had pledged their word about rulership of the Hedjaz within which lie Mecca and Medina.

PLASSEY, 1757

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

PLASSEY, THE GROUND AND THE RIVAL HOSTS

CLIVE's camp was a mango-grove called the *Laksha-bagh* (or the Park of a hundred thousand trees), 800 yards by 300, with the trees planted in regular rows, and surrounded on four sides by an earthen embankment, which served as a good breast-work, while the thick branches gave protection from the enemy's shots overhead. The north-western corner of the grove was only 150 yards from the Ganges, which thus guarded its left flank, while the village of Plassey, 1,100 yards behind, protected the rear. About 200 yards north of the grove, on the bank of the river stood the Nawab's hunting-lodge (known as "Plassey House"), a brick building surrounded by a masonry wall which Clive immediately occupied and the roof of which served as a good observation post. Four hundred yards north of the hunting-lodge and again close to the river bank stood a large tank and 100 yards north of it a smaller tank, surrounded by high earthen banks, as usual in Bengal. Here were posted about 45 French helpers of the Nawab, under Monsieur de Sintray with four light field-pieces, served by his men with remarkable accuracy. Still further northwards, some 500 yards beyond this French party and 400 yards east of the river stood a large dry mound, covered with jungle, which was held by the Nawab's own men and guarded the main entrance to his camp. A redoubt in the southern line of his entrenchments, a little west of this mound, formed the defence of the main entrance on its western side. From this point the trenches ran in a long line curving north-eastwards, with many openings to allow the troops to issue for battle from their respective quarters. The site of the Nawab's camp is called *Mangor-para* in a Dutch letter from Quasimbazar.

Between the shelter of the French tank and this big dry mound, was massed the most effective portion of Siraj-ud-daula's army,—indeed the only men who fought for him, under the faithful Mir Madan (Chief of Artillery), Mohan Lal Kashmiri, and other men of honour. This was the vanguard of the Nawab's troops and numbered 5,000 chosen Mughal horse and 7,000 infantry (Rajputs and Pathans), with two heavy guns; and these alone were actually engaged in that day's battle.

The vanguard formed a short north-to-south line, behind the French tank. Making a sharp angle to this line, on the left of it the other troops were drawn up in a huge semi-circle, to the east and south in three vast columns, under Yar Lutf Khan, Rai Durlabh and Mir Ja'far, placed further and further away from the English in this order. But all these troops were "outside the combat" on that eventful day. Each column had its own artillery placed on its two flanks, instead of all the guns being grouped together in one strong battery.

The Nawab's forces made a most impressive show, as after issuing from their camp they drew up on the

plain north-east of the village of Plassey, in a vast arc, over two miles in length, almost surrounding the British army and threatening to drive it into the Ganges which flowed on its left. Taking horse and foot together they numbered nearly 50,000 men, but only some 12,000 men forming the vanguard or the right wing and 12 pieces of cannon took any part in the battle.¹ The Nawab's infantry possessed little or no discipline . . . and most of the men were armed with swords, pikes, bows and arrows! His cavalry was of a superior description, both men and horses being of northern origin and large size. (*Broome*, 143).

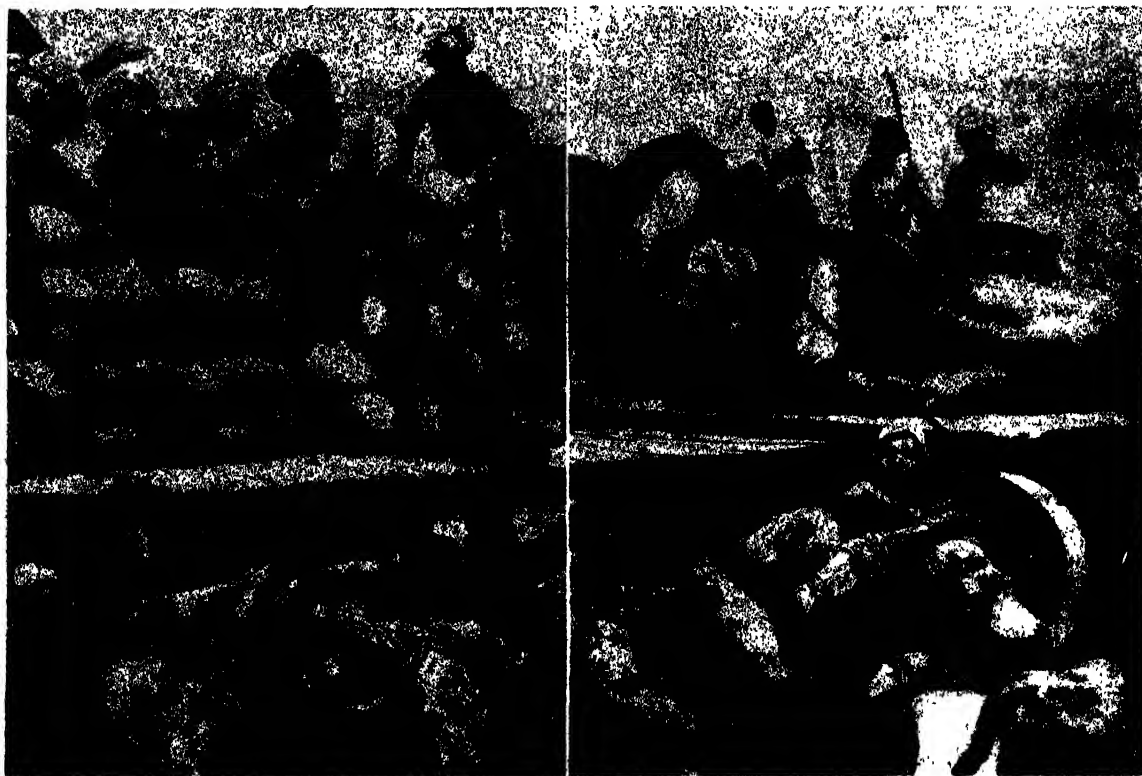
Siraj had 53 pieces of artillery, mostly of heavy calibres, 32, 24 and 18 pounders. These were mounted on large platforms furnished with wheels, and drawn by 40 or 50 yoke of powerful oxen, assisted by elephants; an elephant followed each carriage, pushing it forward with his head, whenever it came to any difficulty. On these platforms were conveyed not only the guns and carriages, but the ammunition, stores and gunners also. (*Broome*, 142.) "Their cannon moved along, and in front of their main body, in such manner that their whole front was almost covered with the bullocks that drew them." (Clive)

This huge many-coloured crowd of men, horses, and elephants was faced by a thin line of red coats and white cross-belts, some 600 yards in length, the white faces (950) in the centre and the brown faces (2,100) in the wings with six very light guns in front.² But there was to be no clash of steel that day, no hand to hand cavalry fight, so dear to the heart of every Indian soldier of that age.

The British portion of Clive's army was made up of 950 European infantry and 150 artillerymen (including 57 sailors), with a number of lascars to assist. His Indian troops were 2,100 sepoy, all infantry, partly Madras men (called Telingas) and partly the Bengal Native Infantry (First Battalion) popularly called the Lal Paltan. This last had been raised as recently as January, after the recapture of Calcutta, by enlisting men of Bihar, Oudh, the Doab and Rohilkhand, and it contained Pathans, Rohillas, Jats, Rajputs and Brahmans (the "Pandos" of the Sepoy Mutiny), but the majority of the men in the ranks were Muslims.

1 As Jean Law writes: "With the exception of some 50 Europeans who were with M. Sintray, and two or three chiefs who commanded bodies of cavalry, all the rest of the army stood with folded arms or only showed that they were on the side of Siraj-ud-daulah by the promptitude with which they took to flight. Fear pervaded the whole army before the action commenced. Every one was persuaded that Siraj-ud-daula was betrayed, and no one knew whom to trust." (Hill, III, 212). Except the vanguard under Mir Madan and Mohan Lal, and its 12 guns, the rest of the Nawab's artillery (under the three traitors) did not fire a single shot during the day.

2 Broome (p. 142) gives 900 Europeans (infantry, artillery and naval gunners) and 200 Topasses i.e., Portuguese Eurasians serving with the British infantry, a total of 1,100 besides Indian Lascars to assist the artillery; 2,100 sepoy, eight six-pounder guns and two howitzers. Hill (I, xcvi) reduces the numbers of the Europeans and the Topasses by 100 each.



The Battle of Plassey, June 23rd, 1757
The Nawab's artillery on its movable platform
From a picture by R. Carton Woodville, R.I.

many of them disbanded soldiers of the Indian princes. (Broome, 93).

The battle line of Clive was thus formed: in the centre were placed the Europeans, in four battalions, under Majors Killpatrick, Archibald Grant, and Eyre Coote, and Captain Gaupp. On the two wings the sepoys were posted in two divisions, with three six-pounder guns on each flank of the Europeans, a little ahead of the infantry. They were drawn up in the plain in front of the mango-grove, in a line about 600 yards in length, from west to east with the river on their left.

BATTLE OF PLASSEY

Thursday the 23rd of June, 1757, exactly one year and two days after the Nawab's capture of Calcutta, witnessed a battle which was destined to revolutionise the life of India, and, indirectly and slowly that of the eastern hemisphere, though when judged as a trial of arms military critics are apt to slight it as a mere skirmish or distant cannonade.

At eight o'clock in the morning, both hosts were in position. The first blood was drawn by white men from white men. The French opened fire from the big tank only 200 yards from the English line and killed one grenadier and wounded another of the Bengal European Regiment. This was the signal for the whole attacking force to join in the action, and a heavy

cannonade began from the Nawab's line, most of which was badly aimed and did little mischief. The English at once replied with their six-pounders, which took effect on the dense masses of the enemy and kept them back, but were too short in range to silence the Nawab's artillery. In half an hour the British lost 30 men in killed and wounded, and Clive retired his men to the grove, where the trees protected them overhead and the embankment in front.

The smart and accurate fire of the English guns from the embrasures made in the mud wall of the mango-grove, killed a number of the enemy's gunners and caused several serious explosions among their carelessly exposed munitions. Hence the falling back of the English line did not embolden the Nawab's cavalry to charge.

Three hours passed in this static cannonade. And then, shortly after 11 a.m. a thunderstorm burst with tropical fury, turning the sandy plain of Plassey into a mud swamp. The Nawab's artillery was now put out of action as their uncovered gunpowder had been damped by rain while the English had carefully kept their powder dry. When the rain ceased, Mir. Madan ordered the long-awaited-for gallant charge in the hope of overwhelming the English by numbers, thinking that their guns had been similarly rendered useless by rain. But the rapid fire of grape-shot from the English guns at close range wrought havoc among the advance

ing crowd of Bengal cavaliers. Here at the head of the charge fell Mir Madan, Bahadur Ali Khan (the son-in-law of Mohan Lal and commander of the *bahalia* musketeers), Nauwe Singh Hazari (captain of artillery), and some other high officers. The advance was checked and the cavalry turned their faces towards their entrenchment.

It was now two o'clock in the afternoon. Clive on learning of the enemy's flinching, came out of the hunting-lodge and found that their cannonade had entirely ceased and the men were yoking their oxen and slowly retiring towards their camp. Treachery had been at work in the Nawab's army. On hearing of Mir Madan's fall, Siraj-ud-daulah had called Mir Jafar to his tent, appealed to his loyalty, by laying his turban at his feet and saying, "It is for you to defend my honour." Mir Jafar swore on the Quran to fight the English, and advised the Nawab to withdraw his troops from the field and fight with renewed vigour next morning under his leadership. On coming out of the Nawab's tent to his own troops in the field, he sent a letter to Clive telling him of the Nawab's helplessness and despair and urging the English to advance at once and seize the camp.

His treacherous advice had begun to work. The troops in the field, while shaken by Mir Madan's fall and the repulse of their vanguard, received orders that the engagement was suspended for the day, and began a withdrawal. But the handful of Frenchmen kept their stand at the most advanced post facing the English. Such was the sight which had made Major Killpatrick on his own initiative order an advance by a small English detachment. Clive came upon the scene immediately after this forward movement had started; he took the command himself, and launched an assault upon Sinfray's isolated position in force. The Frenchmen were outnumbered; but limbering up their guns they retired in good order and made a second stand in the redoubt guarding the entrance to the Nawab's camp.

Having seized the French tanks, Clive planted all his field-pieces there and began to throw shots into the enemy's camp. Here he halted for about two hours keeping a keen eye on the vast enemy position before him and watching for his chance. Soon there was a

return of the tide; the Muslim retreat stopped. All the Bengal army was not made up of Mir Jafars and Rai Durlavs; there were in it many men of honour, Rajputs with their inborn contempt of death and Shias nursed on the chivalrous traditions of Persia who



- A. Position of the British Army at 8 in the morning
- B. Four guns to check the fire of the French Party at the tank D.
- C. The Nawab's Army
- D. A tank from whence the French Party cannonaded till 3 in the afternoon, when part of the British Army took post there and the enemy retired within their entrenched camp
- E. & F. A redoubt and mound taken by assault at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4, and which completed the victory
- G. The Nawab's hunting house

would not yield without one more struggle.^a The shower was over, they had eaten their afternoon refreshments in the camp and now began to come out again from the entrenchment with dry gunpowder from their stores, to renew the combat, even though they had no supreme leader to inspire and guide them. But the ground beneath them was rain-soaked. As

their horses were floundering in the mud and the clumsy wheels of their heavy gun-platforms were sinking in the ground, and their draught oxen refused to make any advance under the lash, the English cannon fired from only two hundred yards' distance with deadly precision and rapidity, ploughed their disordered and crowded ranks. The confusion passed beyond remedy from the writhing of wounded men, horses and oxen, the stampede of elephants, and the explosion of powder. But all was not yet over.



Battle of Plassey, June 23rd, 1757
Clive on the roof of Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah's
hunting lodge

"Sinfray plied his guns from the redoubt with great spirit, and the enemy's matchlockmen from the entrenchments and the hillock east of the redoubt, maintained an irregular but unintermitting fire. Their cavalry also made several bold attempts to charge, but were as often repulsed by the rapid and deadly fire of the British field-pieces. It was here that the contest

3 "The Nawab's soldiers could not understand how so small a British force could overwhelm so powerful an army as their own; so, declining to accept defeat, they brought up large bodies of cavalry, who had not hitherto taken an active part in the engagement; and who having obtained dry powder from their entrenchment, poured a heavy fire on the mound which Clive had just captured from the French." (Innes, *Hist. of Bengal Europ. Reg.*, 63).

"When Mir Jafar counselled the Nawab to suspend the fight for that day and recall his troops from the field, Mohan Lal refused to retreat on the ground that it would lead to a rout. But Mir Jafar stuck to his own advice and left the decision to Siraj." (Stieler, *op. cit.* 229).

was most obstinate, and on this occasion the chief loss of the English was sustained." (*Broome*, 148).

But, in truth, by this time the Bengal army was really spent. In their centre and left, the vast cavalry hordes of Mir Ja'far, Durlav Ram, and Yar Lutf were seen retiring further and further away without having fired a shot during the whole day, while Clive's musketeers, now lodged close behind the nearest mounds, kept up volley firing with a precision and rapidity unknown to our indigenous forces. Many of their own comrades were seen to be on retreat behind them.

The eagle eye of the British General seized this psychological moment. Clive sprang forward to deliver the decisive blow. His halt at the French tanks was over. He sent two strong detachments to advance on his two flanks to dislodge the defenders of the redoubt and the dry jungly mound east of it; these were the last posts held by his enemy outside their camp. At the same time the main body of the British army moved forward more slowly in support of the right or the left advance as might be found necessary.

At last the struggle was over. The Nawab's army fled away leaving their guns behind, and then the whole body of the victors entered the entrenchments. All was confusion and flight within. The Nawab himself had fled away soon after 4 p.m., there was no leader left to conduct an orderly retreat. The victory was complete by 5 o'clock. Clive's soldiers, with wonderful discipline, did not stop to plunder such an immensely rich camp, but pushed onwards to Daudpur, six miles from the field, that night, in order to seize the Nawab's capital before he could rally his forces there.

In this historic action, the British lost only seven Europeans and 16 sepoy killed, and 13 Europeans and 36 sepoy wounded, a total casualty figure of 72.⁴ Eighty per cent of this loss fell on their artillery,—evidently the feat of Sinfray's men. On the Nawab's side about 500 men were killed and a due proportion wounded. Among the wounded officers were Mohan Lal, Manik Chand (a Bengali Kayastha), and Khwaja Hadi (*Hill*, II, 426). But all his artillery (53 pieces), baggage, camp equipage, stores and cattle fell into the victor's hands; nothing could be carried away. But as there was no opposition there was not after Plassey the carnage that usually follows a rout; all the Bengal losses were suffered in the open field.

THE CONTRASTED TACTICS

The tactics of the battle of Plassey are quite easy to follow when we bear in mind the difference between the two sides in armament and war training (especially the vitally important elements of discipline

4 "The (British) detachment at the first tank, with some sepoy in front, being ordered, accordingly rushed on, fired on the enemy when they got to the top, and drove them off with . . . precipitation." (Clive in *Hill*, II, 426).

5 *Broome*, 149. But *Hill* (Vol. I, call) gives Europeans, 4 killed and 13 wounded; sepoy 15 killed, 36 wounded,—total 72. The official return after the battle, signed by Major of Brigade, John Prowse, gives 76 killed and wounded and four missing, a total of 80. (*Hill*, II, 426).

among the men and leadership among the junior officers). Only 12,000 men with 10 guns fought 3,200 men with 8 guns. Clive's policy after the first half-hour (in which he lost 30 men from the French-directed artillery) was to keep his men under cover and fire his guns from embrasures fully shielded by earthworks. Mir Madan, on his part, followed the stereotyped Mughal war-plan of first making a big-gun cannonade for overpowering the enemy's inferior artillery, throwing the opposite cavalry into confusion, and if luck assisted blowing up their munition in the field; then after such a preparation for about two hours, launching his own massed cavalry in one charge, riding down the enemy forces, and winning the day by one stroke.

Such tactics had succeeded in Indian warfare in the 17th century and even in the 18th, when both sides had indigenous armament and leaders; but they proved futile when opposed to the discharge of grape from smaller but very mobile and rapid-firing guns aimed with deadly accuracy from close range, and highly trained musketeers (not clumsy match-lock-men) firing by platoons with the shock effect of machine guns.

Clive handled his small force (entirely infantrymen and foot artillery) with judicious economy. After the first half-hour (when they were exposed and suffered nearly half the casualties of their side for the entire day), he carefully kept them back from exposure. And when in the afternoon, he did again issue into the open plain, every step was taken under artillery protection, and every advance was made in the form of a dash from one protective embankment (round some tank) to another, where a halt was made under cover and his artillery brought up alongside and employed in pounding the enemy in their nearest post in front, so as to prepare the ground for the next advance of his infantry.

The Nawab's troops, after the failure of their first old-style charge under Mir Madan at about 2 p.m., learnt a lesson and changed their tactics by using every ground cover available and shooting down the English sepoys from behind such covers as long as they could hold them.

Unlike the English, the Nawab's troops had no grape-firing guns to support their infantry, and, indeed, no artillery help whatever in the afternoon's fighting, except Sinfray's guns in the Redoubt at the angle of their entrenched line. The musketry fire of the British-led sepoys was far superior to that of the Nawab's *bahadris*. In the final stage of the battle, as the British advance was headed by the sepoys, their white infantry suffered no loss, and their only casualties were among the sepoy infantry and white artillery men.*

* Clive's letter—"Our four guns from the top of the (first) tank, being a rising ground, played upon the enemy, (who covered the plain with their numbers and at no very great distance), with vast success. They (i.e., the Nawab's troops) had got possession of the second tank (really, the dry mound on one side of the main entrance to the Nawab's camp) with horse and footmen or gunmen,—as many

THE END OF SIRAJ-UD-DAULAH

From the lost field of Plassey, even before the last struggle had ended, the craven Nawab deserted his soldiers and followers and fled away alone about 4 p.m., on a swift camel, with a few servants and arrived at his capital at midnight. All was terror and confusion in Murshidabad. No real attempt could be made to organise a defence, as the soldiery had lost



Lal Palian
Grenadier Sepoy

heart and gone utterly out of hand. Above all Siraj-ud-daulah knew not whom to trust. So, overcome by fear and urged by his women, he resolved on a flight to Patna. In the night of 24th June, he escaped unnoticed from the city attended by a trusty eunuch and his devoted wife Lutf-un-nisa Begum. The capital of Bengal was left without a magistrate or a master, because Mir Jafar who had reached it on the day after the battle, kept himself confined to his own house and refused to assume the government. But Clive entered the city on the 29th and took up his residence in the Murad-bagh near the palace of Siraj. Later, in the afternoon, he went to the palace of Hira-jhil, where Mir Jafar was in residence, and

as could cover themselves from our cannon, behind it, and from thence with their musketry wounded several of our men . . . The enemy endeavoured to use their guns, but we took care to fire on those parts which put their bullocks in such confusion that we received but few shot." (Hul, III, 438).

"there in the presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the Court, he led Jafar Ali Khan by the hand to the royal seat (*masnad*), seated him on it, and saluted him as Nawab of the three Subahs, upon which his courtiers congratulated him, and paid him the usual homage." (Clive, in *Hill*, Vol. II, 437.)

Thus ended Muslim rule in Bengal; the foreign master of the sword had become its king-maker.



Telinga Sepoy

The fallen Nawab fled by road to Bhagwangola on the Padma and there took boat for going up-stream and reaching Patna and his French allies under M. Jean Law. A little below Rajmahal, he alighted from his boat (30th June) to ask for a meal to be cooked for him. Though he had disguised himself in mean clothing, he was recognised by a Muslim faqir, named, Dana Shah, whose ears and nose he had ordered to be cut off in the days of his power. This man informed

the governor of Rajmahal, who seized Siraj-ud-daulah and sent him under guard to Murshidabad. Here the fallen monarch was brought with great secrecy at night on 2nd July. Mir Jafar could not decide what to do with him, but left him in the hands of his son Miran and retired to sleep. This brutal youth had Siraj murdered in prison* that very night without the knowledge of the English.

His executioner was Muhammadi Beg, a low fellow, whom Siraj's father had brought up and mother given in marriage. The fallen monarch abased himself to the ground, made frantic appeals for mercy, and promised to live in harmless obscurity if only his life was spared. But all his efforts proved futile. No time was given to him to pray and prepare himself for facing the Great Judge. Then with his last breath he cried out, "I am being killed in retribution for my unjust murder of Husain Quli Khan."

Next morning his mangled body was placed on an elephant and paraded through the streets of the capital as a mark of public degradation (*tash-hir*). Men noted with horror that when the elephant came to a halt for a few minutes at the place where Siraj had caused Husain Quli to be murdered three years earlier, some drops of blood fell down from his dead body on the very same spot. Thus was proved divine justice. When the corpse reached the bazar* in front of Siraj's old residence, and a public clamour arose, a noble matron in dishevelled dress, without shoes on her feet, without a veil to cover her head, was seen to rush out of the palace and approach the elephant, beating her breast and uttering cries of anguish. It was the mother of Siraj. She learnt of her darling son's fate for the first time from the noise outside, and broke out of *parda* with her weeping train, to have a last look at his mortal remains. But it was not to be. This daughter of a king, wife of a vice-king, and mother of another king was driven back to her home with blows by the ruffianly guards of Khadim Husain, a General, who had been watching the scene from his balcony opposite. And Khadim Husain had been cherished in youth by Alivardi. His gratitude to his benefactor only paralleled that of Mir Jafar. (*Siyar*, text, 232.)

Ignoble as the life of Siraj-ud-daulah had been and tragic his end, among the public of his country, his memory has been redeemed by a woman's devotion and a poet's genius. For many years after his death, his widow Lutf-un-nisa Begam used to light a memorial lamp on his tomb every evening as long as she lived. The Bengali poet Nabia Chandra Sen in his masterpiece *The Battle of Plassey*, has washed away the follies and crimes of Siraj by artfully drawing forth his readers' tears for fallen greatness and blighted youth.

* Miran also murdered Siraj's sole surviving brother Miran Mahdi and his dead brother Ahmaddaulah's son Muzud-daulah, thus extinguishing the entire male line of Alivardi's descendants. We know nothing further of Miran Mahdi, a younger brother of Shaukat Jang (of Feroze), mentioned in the *Siyar*.

REFLECTIONS

When the sun dipped into the Ganges behind the blood-red field of Plassey, on that fateful evening of June, did it symbolise the curtain dropping on the last scene of a tragic drama? Was that day followed by "a night of eternal gloom for India," as the poet of Plassey imagined Mohan Lal foreboding from the ranks of the losers? Today the historian, looking backward over the two centuries since then, knows that it was the beginning, slow and unperceived, of a glorious dawn, the like of which the history of the world has not seen elsewhere. On 23rd June, 1757, the middle ages of India ended and her modern age began.

When Clive struck at the Nawab, Mughal civilisation had become a spent bullet. Its potency for good, its very life was gone. The country's administration had become hopelessly dishonest and inefficient, and the mass of the people had been reduced to the deepest poverty, ignorance and moral degradation by a small, selfish, proud, and unworthy ruling class. Imbecile leeches filled the throne; the family of Alivardi did not produce a single son worthy to be called a man, and the women were even worse than the men. Sadists like Siraj and Miran made even their highest subjects live in constant terror. The army was rotten and honey-combed with treason. The purity of domestic life was threatened by the debauchery fashionable in the Court and the aristocracy and the sensual literature that grew up under such patrons. Religion had become the handmaid of vice and folly.

On such a hopelessly decadent society, the rational progressive spirit of Europe struck with resistless force. First of all, an honest and efficient administration had to be imposed on the country and directed by the English, if only for the sake of the internal peace on which their trade depended and the revenue by which its necessary defence force could be maintained. Thus, while the English rulers kept protesting that they were merchants and not rulers in Bengal, the civil administration, no less than the armed defence, of the country was forced upon them. In the space of less than one generation, in the twenty years from Plassey to Warren Hastings (1757-1776), the land began to recover from the blight of Quranic rule. Education, literature, society, religion, man's hand-work and political life, all felt the revivifying touch of the new impetus from the west. The dry bones of a stationary oriental society began to stir, at first faintly, under the wand of a heaven-sent magician.

It was truly a Renaissance, wider, deeper, and more revolutionary than that of Europe after the fall of Constantinople. Bengal had been despised and

thrown into a corner in the Vedic age as the land of birds (and not of men), in the epic age as outside the regions hallowed by the feet of the wandering Pandav brothers, and in the Mughal times as "a hell well stocked with bread." But now under the impact of the British civilisation it became a path-finder and a light-bringer to the rest of India. If Periclean Athens was the school of Hellas, "the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence," that was Bengal to the rest of India under British rule, but with a borrowed light, which it had made its own with "marvellous cunning. In this new Bengal originated every good and great thing of the modern world that passed on to the other provinces of India. From Bengal went forth the English-educated teachers and the Europe-inspired thought that helped to modernise Bihar and Orissa, Hindustan and Deccan. New literary types, reform of the language, social reconstruction, political aspirations, religious movements and even changes in manners that originated in Bengal, passed like ripples from a central eddy, across provincial barriers to the furthest corners of India.

Finally, after less than two centuries of rule the British have left Bengal free, and better fitted to keep that freedom in the modern world than the Romans had made Britain when they abandoned their imperial domination over the white island, more permanently civilised than the Hellenistic world on the dissolution of Alexander's empire, and more peaceful and progressive than the American colonies of Spain when they shook themselves free of European rule.

Has not Bengal, unknown to herself, been working through the ages to reach this consummation? Her storied past, as narrated by her own sons, shows how the diverse limbs of the country and warring tribes and sects of the people were fused into one by the silent working of time and common political life, till at the end of the Muslim period a Bengali people had become a reality. But not yet a Bengali nation, for the prerequisites of a nation were then wanting. Two centuries of British rule and the neighbouring example of British society have now ground down large sections of the Bengali people to that uniformity of life and thought which alone can create a nation. It is for the future to perfect this good work.

In June, 1757, we crossed the frontier and entered into a great new world to which a strange destiny had led Bengal. Today, in October 1947 we stand on the threshold of the temple of Freedom just opened to us. May the course of the years 1757 to 1947 have prepared us for the supreme stage of our political evolution and helped to mould us truly into a nation. May our future be the fulfilment of our past history.



CONTINENTALISM IN WORLD POLITICS

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M.A., LL.B., M.B.A.S.

Today, the world is buried under the debris of wars. Two terrible conflagrations burning from one end to the other have left the world a heap of slag and cinder. Broken myths, burnt creeds are scattered all around this ghastly graveyard of Western civilization. The victors are as much perplexed as the vanquished.

"Over wide areas," said Mr. Churchill in his speech at Zurich on 19th September, 1946, "are a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings who wait in the ruins of their cities and homes and scan the dark horizons for the approach of some new form of tyranny or terror. Among the victors there is a babel of voices, among the vanquished the sullen silence of despair . . ."

This babel of voices comes from a heap of ruins which sepulchres the culture of economic nationalism.

This word 'economic nationalism' is a convenient catchphrase to designate a particular epoch of culture which prevailed in the world up till now and which is now passing through the grooves of change into another new phase of human life. This culture was the product of the impact of industrialism and democracy on the drive towards unity and closeness, which characterized many countries of Europe in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Mercantilism, the then prevailing system, tended to divide the economies of European countries into numberless monopolies and preserves, which dealt a crushing blow to their unity and integrity. But as the onset of industrial revolutions broadened the horizons of people and made them conscious of the need of a bigger field of production and distribution, which conveniently coincided with cultural and linguistic units known as nations, these divisions began to disappear. The Union of Great Britain had been accomplished under the Stuarts. Her descendants achieved the same in 1788 beyond the Atlantic by abolishing all commercial barriers between the States. A few years later the French Revolutionary government did away with all the provincial tariff frontiers, which had hitherto broken up the economic unity of France. In the second quarter of the 19th century, the Germans achieved an economic zollverein which proved the precursor of political union. In the third quarter, the Italians by achieving political unity secured economic unity at the same time. Alongside of this movement of unification was another trend of free international commerce, which also justified the existence of nation states. The doctrine of comparative costs was devised to demonstrate that the full benefit of laissez-faire economy and international division of labour could be reaped for all partners within the existing order of competing national economies. This insistence on national states in an environment of free co-ordination of the productive resources of the world, awakened in some undeveloped and underdeveloped states a passion for fully exploiting their productive potentialities so as to meet the competition of the

developed states on a footing of equality. Hence an era of economic rivalries set in and the incentive towards free trade, which was supported by Pitt, Peel, Cobden and Gladstone in England, by the United States between 1833 and 1860 and France under Louis Philippe and Napoleon III was thwarted by a hectic pursuit of tariff-protectionism and trade-restrictions. A significant mark of this turn of tide was a new school of economic thought, the "historical national school" expounded by Adolf Wagner, which contended that the economic position of the individual instead of depending on so-called natural rights and inherent capacities is largely conditioned by the national environment in which he lives and works. In 1872, the leading economists of the school held a conference at Eisenach and issued a manifesto which declared war on economic liberalism and referred to the national German State "as the great moral institution for the education of humanity." By 1878 Bismarck had publicly avowed his faith to the tenets of this school and soon France, U. S. A. and England followed suit and the world was split into watertight units separated from each other by high tariffs and protective duties.

This drive towards national states was sped up by the dynamism of democracy. Hitherto government was a purely dynastic affair and diplomacy and war, the sports of kings. Hence when two countries went to war, it were only the particular chessmen, the sailors and soldiers, who fought, whilst the rest of the populations remained unaffected. A famous passage in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* relates how the author went to France during the Seven Years War and was helped and greeted by a French nobleman. But after the wars of American Independence and French Revolution, the idea of sovereignty underwent a radical change and the shapeless swarming masses speaking through elected representatives wielded the reins of government. Hence the slightest tussles directly affected the masses, whose exhaustless strength was ruthlessly exploited by interested parties for their own benefit.

In fact, democracy implies an agreement on fundamentals over which everybody can afford to bicker. This background of intrinsic concord is provided by a common linguistic and cultural tradition which is strengthened by uniform economic needs and homogeneous political interests and entrenched by a contiguous geographical habitat. This circumscribed sphere of fraternity vitally knits up the amorphous passions of the masses to a basic understanding on which the stability of a sound government essentially rests. Hence democracy working within the framework of parochial state becomes a sort of nationalism and the mysterious ghost raised by it goads the ideas and actions of men in one common direction. Thus a spirit of peace and blessing, when confined in a

narrow pitcher becomes a gruesome genie of disaster and destruction.

The democratic ideals thus mixing with the realities of competitive economics, gave birth to economic nationalism, which from the seventies of the last century onwards has been the lodestar of world politics. This system, too, had its own advantages. It keyed up the productive processes of the world to the highest pitch. It led to the fullest utilization of all potentialities of production in a vain attempt to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Thus, highly technical methods like subventions, export bounties and dumping systems heightened the tempo of production drive all over the world and the miraculous designs of Dr. Schacht had the ingenuity of magic. But the productive sources of the world having been tapped, the epoch of economic nationalism lost its *raison d'être*. Its inner contradictions became apparent and its explosive contents brought about two ravaging wars which have smashed the fabric of this culture. Hence new needs arose and opened new horizons and new situations have fostered new perspectives. Beyond the fumbling frontiers of nations we glance at a wider landscape, in which the growing shades of declining nations fade in a vast expanse *viz.*, continentalism.

Continent, too, is as arbitrary and obstreperous a name as nation. Recently an interesting controversy arose over the meaning of "Europe" to which the American Secretary of State, Mr. George C. Marshall in his speech of June 5, 1946, at Harvard University, promised financial assistance. Explaining his standpoint the learned Secretary remarked that "Europe is everything west of Asia." This interpretation was challenged by Senator Vandenberg on June 13, but, even leaving his arguments aside for a moment, we are entitled to question as to why Europe hankers for Iranian and Arabian oil, Egyptian cotton, Australian wheat and Indian raw materials, if she claims to be so complete and self-contained. Likewise if America is a separate continent, why has she smashed the shell of her isolationism with the Truman Doctrine and is meddling with the affairs of far off Turkey and Greece? Again, if Asia is a perfect self-sufficient unit, why do the Indian leaders, despite Gandhiji's remonstrances look to the West for initiative and inspiration; why do the Chinese dress their wounds with the red plaster marked with the hammer and sickle or the green plaster with the dollar mark on it? Evidently the concept of continent is as obsolete as that of nation. Yet due to some recent developments in international relations, continentalism, in place of nationalism, has become the dominant feature of world politics.

The victory of the allies and the cessation of hostilities following it have brought into light the chasms in their ranks which were formerly covered by a community of danger. The same play of power-politics which had pulverised the solidarity of Europe sprang up again. The spoils of victory, particularly Germany, became the apple of discord for the voracious

victors. At Yalta it was agreed upon to give the eastern half of Poland to Russia and, as a tentative plan, to give a large slice of eastern Germany to Poland. Now Poland, backed by Russia, insists that such an apportionment should be made final. The situation has been aggravated by the division of Germany into four zones of allied control. In the Soviet zone of Germany, as John Foster Dulles, who accompanied Mr. Marshall to Moscow, remarked, the dominant political party and the labour unions are already subject to Soviet will and the Communist influence is spreading in the English, French and American zones also. Among the delegates that are trifling over the broken fragments of German economy at Frankfurt, the Christian democrats, having Communistic inclination, figure prominently. To counteract this tendency the English and American zones are economically and politically coming together and the French zone is also likely to coalesce with them since France has been promised coal deliveries from Ruhr at Moscow by Bevin and Marshall. Thus a western Germanic bloc has been created under the tutelage of the democratic powers. In Italy Gasperi has devised a liberal regime, which is in line with the democratic countries. On the other side, Russia is spreading her tentacles far and wide. With Poland fastened with a puppet government whose wires are pulled from the Kremlin, Russia has advanced up to the heart of Germany. She has also spread her net over the Balkans. In Yugoslavia, queer creation of the Versailles peace-makers, there is a peculiar racial and religious ferment which Russia has turned to her advantage. The whole manoeuvre was so organized that in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1946, King Peter received only 10 per cent of the votes as against the 90 per cent of Marshal Tito's, who is a Soviet trained leader of the urban proletariat. Rumania is ridden with a pro-Soviet monarchy presided over by King Mihail, who is a prisoner of the Communistic government. Bulgaria, though fighting with Britain and the United States underwent a *coup d'état* at the hands of the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front and declared war on Germany at the instance of Russia. Last September she voted to establish a republic. Hungary suffered a ravaging purge by the Communists recently. General Dirmyes, whose party polled only 17 per cent of the votes in the last elections, has usurped the government with the support of Soviet bullets by swashbuckling the Small Holder's party which had won a majority of seats. These Communist-aided terrorists abetted the resurrection of reactionary forces in Greece and as proved by the U.N.O. Inquiry Commission, were at the back of the boundary squabbles there. Their menace is also felt by Turkey. Towards Asia, as Mr. Acheson complained, Soviet Union dismantled industries in Manchuria, obstructed economic and political unification of Korea and has not returned it to Chinese administration. Thus a big Soviet bloc, extending from the Pacific to the Danube, has come into existence.

In Asia, the Middle East claims a separate continental status. The Pan-Islamic movement has now,

after the dissolution of the Caliphate, found expression in the Arab League and the Greater Syria scheme of King Abdullah. The Turko-Iraqi treaty, which has been recently negotiated is a step ahead towards the success of these designs. Yet at present the Middle East is a muddle of medieval institutions and modernist ideas, old remnants of Pashadom and feudalism and hot Khamsins and Majlises and noisy streets of Cairo are buzzing, in a confused quire, with whispers of Communist menace, imperialist domination, oil supremacy, American capital, Palestine problem, Islamic unity and many other shapeless watchwords. In this welter America has thrown the bait of dollar and England that of Pakistan, while Russia employs Muslim diplomats and consuls and sends cultural missions to promote goodwill. Yet, apart from this diplomatic dash-grab the Muslims visualize a pan-Islamic bloc from the Atlantic coast of Morocco to the stream of the Ravi. In India, the secession of Muslim majority areas from the Union of India may give some articulation to these bustlings.

The rest of Asia may organize a Sino-Indic bloc embracing the whole of Central Asia and the Far East. The Inter-Asiatic Conference held in New Delhi on April 22 is a symbol of such development. At least this is a likely and desirable phenomenon in the context of present-day world politics.

Similar and even more far-reaching changes are visible in American circles. Ever since the first World War, U. S. A. has come out of the groove of Monroe Doctrine. The economic repercussions of that war were so severe as to precipitate the great depression of 1929 and stress the economic interdependence of the world. In the second World War also President Roosevelt participated with a view to maintaining the balance of power in Europe. But though this war has been won the balance of power^a is more disturbed than ever before. In America herself, there has been tremendous development in industry and production. Giant industries to manufacture armaments have now been dissolved and diverted to the production of consumption-goods. Hence there is an over-production of consumption-goods which has flooded the absorptive capacity of local markets and threaten a sharp shrinkage of prices and consequently of profits. This inevitably results in the sterilization of capital, general break-down of credit and confidence, financial instability, failure of banks and currency, great unemployment and the usual downward spiral of slump-conditions which predict the liquidation of capitalist economy. To forestall these terrific contingences there must be a sure market to absorb these surplus goods and maintain price standards. As a result of the present war, the economies of the world and especially of European countries have been so depleted that they cannot afford to pay dollars in exchange for American goods. Hence America made large loans of dollars to these countries in order to enhance their purchasing capacity for her goods. During the war, the Lend-Lease advances, loans of goods to England and other countries and generous aid to relief organizations such as U.N.R.R.A. masked

the situation. But now the war is over and the same financial problems stare her in the face. Recently it was revealed during a discussion in the Senate that a huge quantity of potato has been destroyed in Alabama, to keep up the prices under the Congressional price support programme. But this ludicrous policy, too, has its limitations. Besides being a shocking display of moral bankruptcy, as Senator Johnson indignantly remarked, it stultifies the very existence of capitalist economy. Hence the only course open to America is to create markets for her surplus products by importing goods and services from the outside world, which is impracticable in the present war-worn conditions and in the face of the Republican policy which has imposed tariffs on wool import, or to make loans of dollars and indirectly of consumption goods and capital requirements. The "Truman Doctrine" whereby America promised 400 million dollars for Greece and Turkey as a counter-stroke against Communist designs, is a step in this direction. But this is a meagre solution as compared to American problems. Moreover, it is simply a move in the game of power-politics. Hence its base has been widened by Marshall Plan of June 5, which promises to be a directive against "hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos" of European countries and by President Truman's move to conciliate Canada and Latin America. Thus a huge Euro-American bloc chivalastically called "democratic" bloc is envisaged in which the mighty resources of U.S.A. would spread and work.

In this way we have seen Euro-American democratic bloc, Pan-Islamic bloc, Communist bloc, Sino-Indic bloc—African spaces to be the playground of these rival blocs for sometime to come—coming into existence and replacing parochial nation states. This continentalism differs from the empires of the past inasmuch as this is not based on coercion and annexation and the idea of ruler and ruled, which underlay them. Furthermore, it differs from the wheezes of interested idealists like the Holy Roman Empire, Napoleon's anti-Russian Western bloc, Hitler's anti-Semitic Aryan zone and Churchill's "Iron Curtain," inasmuch as it is pressingly dictated by existing economic and political conditions and hence promises some success. Mr. Marshall has clearly enunciated that his plan hinges upon the freewill and freedom of the countries coming in its purview, "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government," said Mr. Marshall, "to undertake to draw up unilaterally a programme designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe." Still the plan envisages aid to only those countries which are immune from the influence of Russia. As President Truman addressing the Canadian Parliament on June 11, said :

"We intend to support those who are determined to govern themselves in their own way and who honour the right of others to do likewise. We intend to uphold those who respect the dignity of the individual, who guarantee to him equal treatment under the law."

Thus this plan is also fated to be lost in the hurly-burly of power-politics. Leaving aside all these considerations, it is certain that continental politics are as obsolete as nationalistic politics. The world is speedily driving towards unity and interdependence and to contemplate divisions and demarcations is anachronistic. They may hamper the wheel of progress for some time, yet the propulsion is so irresistible that they would be ground to dust and the wheel reach its goal. Continentalism has proved a clog on the wheel of this progress. It has racked such genuinely international organizations as U. N. O., which promises some peace to the world. The Military Staff Committee of U. N. O. which consists of the five major powers opines that the armed forces, which are to be at the disposal of the Security Council should be just sufficient to meet the requirements of the small powers, meaning thereby that they should not be able to compel and coerce any major power. Even if they can, the veto of the recalcitrant member sets it to naught. Likewise the veto renders the provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes laid down in Chapter VI of the U. N. Charter infructuous. Though it is provided that parties to the dispute should refrain from voting yet their satellites act on their behalf as recently happened in regard to the dispute in which Albania was deemed to be responsible for the killing by mine-field of 42 British seamen in the Corfu Channel. The Security Council, hag-ridden by the spectre of the veto,

has not yet been able to solve such easy questions as that of the ownership of Trieste, much less the future of Italian colonies and the drafting of peace treaties. Thus it is undoubted that U. N. O. has proved as abortive as the League of Nations. To boot, all conferences to arrive at compromises have failed and recently the Marshall Plan has been foiled at the Paris Conference. Add to these the ubiquitous unrest of labour all over the capitalist world and the inner suspicions of the allies and a picture of world chaos comes before the eyes.

Continentalism, as a device of power-politics, is, as has been seen, based on fear complexes and shy suspicions. It eschews that spirit of fraternity and co-operation which the linking of democracy to industrialism engenders. Instead, it fosters an atmosphere of hatred and animosity. The result is that America is strengthening her navy and England working on radio-active cloud and bacteriological bomb. The plant at the Chalk River in Canada is providing radio-active substance for atomic cloud warfare and the Long Range Weapons' organizations in Australia experimenting on guided projectiles. Russia is also preparing herself for these eventualities and if these tendencies go on developing, there would be a global annihilation of mankind and its civilization. Hence, it is imperative that these moves of power-politics should be given up and a true international outlook developed, if humanity is to survive.

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PROPORTION OF MUHAMMADANS IN INDIA THROUGH CENTURIES

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

The fifteen subahs over which Jelaluddin Muhammad Akbar reigned at the time of his death in 1605 were (1) Kabul, (2) Lahore (Punjab) including Kashmir, (3) Mooltan including Sindh, (4) Delhi, (5) Agra, (6) Awadh (Oudh), (7) Allahabad, (8) Ajmer, (9) Ahmedabad (Gujarat), (10) Malwa, (11) Bihar, (12) Bengal including Orissa, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar and (15) Ahmednagar. The map of the regions over which he reigned is given in Vincent Smith's *History of India* on page 365. It extended from Kabul to Dacca, with a pocket of independent territories corresponding to the present North-Western Frontier Tribal areas. The eastern half of Central India, Central Provinces and the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar were outside the Empire. Chittagong was acquired long after his death; and probably the present districts of Tipperah and Noakhali were excluded.

The late Mr. W. H. Moreland in his *India at the Death of Akbar* has given a rough estimate of population at the time:

"We are justified in concluding," says he, "that there must have been at the least somewhere about 100 millions of people in India in order to carry

out the activities disclosed by contemporary authorities."

He finds that the population of northern plains from Multan to Monghyr must have been well over 30 millions and probably little less than 40 millions at the period to which the statistics relate. The population of the five Muhammadan Deccan Kingdoms and the Empire of Vijaynagar put together was over 30 millions. Moreland writes:

"To my mind the available information suggests that the population of the southern territories was at least thirty millions, and probably substantially more."

Although Moreland's estimate gives us an idea about India's population about 1600 A.D., it is at best a rough guess. His method of calculation for Northern India between Multan and Monghyr (Population=cultivated acres × labour necessary to cultivate each acre), though open to several criticisms, inspires more confidence than that of Southern India for which the size of the contending armies at the battle of Talikota (1565 A.D.)—with a large discount for exaggeration—was used. But it is a useful guess, from which we may draw certain broad conclusions.

Feristah has stated that the population of India was 600 millions at the beginning of the Muhammadan conquest. His estimate of population may be wrong; even if he has over-estimated the population twice or thrice, it shows that the population was very much greater at the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions than at the death of Akbar. During centuries of invasions, constant oppression and misrule, and wholesale massacres during the Pathan period, the population of India dwindled. This broad fact emerges from the comparison of the two estimates, however erroneous or full of fallacies the individual estimates may be. At that time there were few Muhammadans in India either by immigration or by conversion—forcible or voluntary.

The population of India as recorded in the Census of 1941 is 388 millions. In spite of the famine of 1943-44, and the malaria epidemic of the following year, the continued scarcity of foodgrains for several consecutive years, and the communal massacres and consequent disruption of family life, the population now is over 400 millions. So in course of three centuries and a half (1600—1950 A.D.) India's population has increased by four times.

The recorded census increase during the last seventy years (1872—1941) has been 184 millions. India's population has increased from about 100 millions in about 1600 A.D. to 204 millions in 1872—an increase of 104 per cent in 270 years. This works out to an average increase of 3.8 per cent per decade. On the other hand, during the latter period, the average increase per decade has been 13.1 per cent—more than 3 times the earlier rate.

A further interesting fact that emerges is this. The present population of the region from Multan to Monghyr is five to six times that of Mr. Moreland's estimate. The population of the Deccan has not increased as fast. This we think to be mainly due to the comparatively infertile soil—infertile when compared with the Gangetic valley.

The present population of the regions over which Akbar's empire extended is roughly 237 millions. (See Appendix I). There has been no census in Afghanistan, but its population has been estimated to be 70 lakhs. Modern Afghanistan includes regions beyond the Hindu-kush and extends further west towards Iran or Persia. Subah Kabul of Akbar's time extended over only a fraction of the present Afghanistan—it included only the Kabul valley and Kandahar. So we estimate 2 millions to be the present population of the region covered approximately by Akbar's Subah Kabul. Of the remaining 14 Subahs of his Empire, the population of the cis-Indus areas, generally spoken of and referred to as Hindusthan, has been estimated according to the 1941 Census to be 236 millions; and that of Sind and the trans-Indus area to be 8 millions.

The total population and the number of Muhammadans in the several areas are estimated to be as:

Area	Total Population (in lakhs)	Muslims (in lakhs)	Percentage of Muslims
cis-Indus	22.68	6.43	28.4
trans-Indus	85	68	80.0
Kabul	20	20*	100.0*
Akbar's Empire	23.73	7.81	30.8

The Emperor Jehangir wrote an autobiography called the *Toozuk-e-Jehangeery*, or *Memoirs of Jehangeer written by himself, and containing a History of the Transactions of the First Thirteen Years of his Reign*. He ascended the throne on the death of his father Akbar in 1605. So it contains an account of the Empire as between 1605 and 1618 A.D. or as in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Major David Price of the Bombay Army published a translation of the *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, written by himself in London in 1829. At pp. 28-29 occurs the following passage:—

"In the practice of being burnt on the funeral pyre of their husbands, as sometimes exhibited among the widows of the Hindus, I had previously directed, that no woman who was the mother of children should be thus made a sacrifice, however willing to die; and I now further ordained, that in no case was the practice to be permitted, when compulsion was in the slightest degree employed, whatever might be the opinions of the people. In other respects they were in no wise to be molested in the duties of their religion, nor exposed to oppression or violence in any manner whatever. For when I consider that the Almighty has constituted me the shadow of his beneficence on earth, and that his gracious providence is equally extended to all existence, it would but ill accord with the character thus bestowed, to contemplate for an instant the butchery of nearly a whole people; for of the whole population of Hindustan, it is notorious that five parts in six are composed of Hindus,† the adorers of images, and the whole concerns of trade and manufactures, weaving, and other industrious and lucrative pursuits, are entirely under the management of these classes. Were it, therefore, ever so much my desire to convert them to the true faith, it would be impossible, otherwise than through the incision of millions of men. Attached as they thus are to their religion, such as it is, they will be snared in the web of their own inventions: they cannot escape the retribution prepared for them; but the massacre of a whole people can never be any business of mine."

The proportion of the Hindus to the Muhammadans was then as 5: 1. This is not a casual statement. For at p. 15 Jehangir records a conversation he had with his father, the Emperor Akbar. Akbar is recorded to have said:

"My dear child," said he, "I find myself a puissant monarch, the shadow of God upon earth, I have seen that he bestows the blessings of his gracious Providence upon all his creatures without distinction. Ill should I discharge the duties of my exalted station, were I to withhold my compassion and indulgence from any of those entrusted to my charge. With all of the human race, with all of God's creatures, I am at peace; why should I permit myself, under any consideration, to be the cause of molestation or aggression to any one?"

* We are not unmindful of the fact that there are and were Hindus in Kabul. As recently as 1898, there was a region known as Kafiristan, where all the inhabitants were Hindus. They were forcibly converted Muslims by the Amir Abd-er-Rahman. But to be on the safe side we have assumed all Kabulis to be Muslims.

† It is curious to remark, that the same proportion appears to exist at this day, since Bishop Heber, in his interesting *Journal*, observes, that the Mohammedans in India bear to the Hindus the same proportion as the Protestants to the Roman Catholics in Ireland." The footnote is of Price.

Besides, are not *five parts in six of mankind either Hindus or aliens to the faith* (italics ours); and were I to be governed by motives of the kind suggested in your inquiry, what alternative can I have but to put them all to death! I have thought it therefore my wisest plan to let these men alone."

Taking the remarks as to the proportion of Muhammadans to apply not to the whole Empire, but to Hindusthan alone, where they are the weakest we reach certain interesting conclusions. The proportion of the Muhammadans in Hindusthan i.e., in cis-Indus empire was $\frac{1}{6}$ or 16.6 per cent of the population. The proportion was more or less constant during Akbar's and Jehangir's reigns. Price has noted in his foot-note the proportion was much the same at the time of Bishop Heber's Travels (1822-1826). This is remarkable. For over two centuries and a quarter when the Muhammadans were the rulers for the most part of the time, with the proselytising and oppressive reign of Aurangzib occupying the middle of the period, it is strange that the proportion of the Muhammadans in the population remained constant at about 17 per cent of the total.

The proportion of the Muhammadans in India taken as a whole, and in British India has changed as follows:

Year of Census	inter-censal India diff.	inter-British censal India diff.
1881	19.74 ..	22.60 ..
1891	19.96+0.22	22.40-0.20
1901	21.22+1.26	23.24+0.64
1911	21.26+0.04	23.51+0.27
1921	21.74+0.48	24.07+0.56
1931	22.16+0.42	24.69+0.62
1941	23.81+1.65	26.84+2.15
1881-1941	4.07	4.24

In Northern India i.e., in the cis-Indus or Hindusthan area of Akbar's Empire their present percentage is 28.4. In 1881 it would come down to 24.2; if the same rate of relative increase has taken place during the previous sixty years i.e., 1821-1881 as during 1881-1941, their percentage would come down to 20.0 per cent about 1820,—a figure not much different from the 17 per cent estimates of either Bishop Heber or of Emperors Jehangir and Akbar having regard to the nature of the estimates. This is rather remarkable.

Even assuming that Bishop Heber has not been able to distinguish between a pure Hindu and a semi-Hinduised nominal convert to Muhammadanism, the relative increase of the Muhammadans has been from 17 per cent in or about 1600 A.D. to 20 per cent in 1825 A.D. i.e., a difference of 3 per cent only during $2\frac{1}{4}$ centuries; while their relative increase during the last sixty years (1881-1941) has been as much as 4.2 per cent. Their previous rate of relative increase was $3/225 = .133$ per decade compared with $4.2/60 = .7$ per decade now. Or in other words, during the British period they

have increased their relative rate of increase by $(0.7/.133 = 5.2 \text{ times})$ five times. The relative increase from 17 to 20 per cent. may be due to wholesale forcible conversions. That there were numerous conversions of the poorer classes of Hindus during Aurangzib's reign is an well-attested fact.

The following facts about his dealings with the Hindus are taken from Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's one-volume *History of Aurangzib*. He forbade the building of new temples, and allowed no old temples to be repaired. In 1669 he issued a general order "to demolish all the *schools and temples* (italics ours) of the infidels and to put down their religious teaching and practices." He did not spare the great shrines that commanded the veneration of the Hindus all over India,—such as the second temple of Somnath, the Vishwanath temple of Benares, and the Keshava Rai temple of Mathura. In 1674 he confiscated all the lands held by Hindus as religious grants. He re-imposed the hated *Jaziya* in 1679. The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year for the three classes—the poor, the middle class and the rich,—or Rs. 3½, Rs. 6½ and 13½. On the poor, therefore, the incidence of the tax was at least 6 per cent of their gross income, and annually took away from him the full value of one year's food as the price of religious indulgence. *Jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's *direct* contribution to the State. In 1665 the *mahsul* or customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the *value* in the case of Muslims and 5 per cent in that of Hindu vendors. In 1668 he forbade all Hindu religious fairs throughout his dominions. In 1695 all Hindus, with the exception of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or thoroughbred horses, or to *carry arms*.

The officially avowed policy in reimposing the *jaziya* was to increase the number of Muslims by putting pressure on the Hindus. The official history written from State papers at the instance of Aurangzib's favourite secretary puts it:

"All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that *jaziya* should be levied from the *zimmis* in accordance with the Quranic injunction 'till they pay compensation out of their hands in humility'."

The taxed person, be he rich or poor, must come on foot and make the payment standing, while the Muslim receiver should be seated; and according to some theologian he must spit upon the face of the tax-payer. The result was as the contemporary observer Manucci noticed:

"Many Hindus who were unable to pay turned Muhammadans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors . . . Aurangzib rejoiced."

It is difficult to estimate how many turned Muhammadans; but we may safely assume that a large number turned Muhammadans during this and subsequent reigns.

The population increased from 100 millions in 1600 to 204 millions in 1872 i.e., at the rate 3.8 per cent per

decade. The relative increase of the Muhammadans during almost the same period was from 17 per cent to 22.6 per cent *i.e.* at the rate of 0.2 per cent. During the last sixty years the population has increased from 204 millions to 388 millions *i.e.* at the rate of 15.0 per cent per decade; and during the same period the relative increase of the Muhammadans has been at the rate of 0.7 per cent per decade. The relative increase during the latter period has been more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the former. On a cursory examination of the figures, it would appear that their (Muhammadans') relative increase was *slower* while the population increase was *slower*; and greater when the population increase is *great*. This is to some extent true. But a closer examination shows that during the earlier period, the relative increase (0.2 per cent) was 5.2 per cent of the population increase (3.8 per cent); and during the latter period it was 4.7 per cent only. This indicates that their relatively larger increase is not solely due to social factors, such as polygamy, re-marriage of widows *etc.*, but dependent upon other factors, such as *Pax Britannica*, and their occupying more fertile lands as in Eastern Bengal, and the canal-irrigated lands in Western Punjab and Sind.

APPENDIX I

We have taken Akbar's empire to comprise the following areas. The total population and the number of Muhammadans are given against them according to the 1941 Census. We think we have represented Akbar's empire substantially accurately.

<i>Cis-Indus or "Hindusthan"</i>			<i>Trans-Indus India</i>		
	Total population in 000's	Muslims in 000's			
Bombay City	14,90	2,51	Sind	45,35	32,08
Northern Division	52,77	5,61	Baluchistan	5,02	4,39
Ahmednagar	11,42	61	Baluchistan States	3,56	3,46
East Khandesh	13,28	1,49	N.-W. Frontier Province	30,88	27,89
West Khandesh	9,12	48			
Nasik	11,14	68	<i>Total</i>	84,81	67,82
	112,63	11,38	<i>Afghanistan</i>	20,00	20,00
			<i>Grand Total</i>	23,73,24	7,31,26

<i>Bengal, excluding Chittagong</i>		
Division	518,28	266,13
United Provinces	550,21	84,16
Punjab	284,19	162,17
Patna Division	72,66	7,05
Tirhoot Division	119,60	16,81
Bhagalpur Division	95,98	17,83
	288,24	41,69
Berar	36,05	3,35
Nimar	5,13	60
Retul	4,38	8
Wardha	5,19	21
	50,75	4,24
Cuttack	24,31	73
Balasore	10,29	36
Puri	11,02	26
	45,62	1,35
Ajmere	5,84	90
Delhi	9,18	3,05
Baroda	28,55	2,24
Gwalior	40,06	2,41
Punjab States	55,04	22,51
Punjab Hill States	10,91	47
Rajputana	136,70	12,98
Western India States	49,04	6,00
Central India States (4)	37,56	2,20
Kashmir Proper	17,27	16,26
Nander, Parbhani and Aurangabad districts of Nizam's dominion	28,36	3,30
<i>Total</i>	22,68,43	6,43,44



INDIA'S ROLE IN EARLY CIVILISATION

By G. N. DAS, M.A., LL.B.

No civilisation can lay claim to greater antiquity than the civilisations of the East comprising Egypt, Mesopotamia and India. Here indeed were laid the foundations of our political, economic, cultural and communal life while the contemporary population of Europe and the Far East lived on hunting and food-gathering. Here indeed took place for the first time the cultivation of plants, the domestication of animals, the rise of city life, the invention of the plough and the wheel, the development of pottery and metallurgy, the advent of writing, the making of textiles—all basic factors of civilisation. That they represent nothing short of a revolution unparalleled in human history before or since, admits of no doubt.

"Every material thing invented since could disappear from the world, and the good life would still be possible."¹

EGYPT

The earliest civilisation of Egypt was cradled on the banks of the Nile. Its date is a bone of contention amongst Egyptologists. It obviously ended with the institution of the Egyptian Calendar in 4241 B.C. and the advent of the First Dynasty, *circa* 3500 B.C. Its starting-point may be taken, with T. E. Peet, as being found about 4000 B.C. Petrie's date of 8000 B.C. is by no means above doubt.²

MESOPOTAMIA

The earliest civilisation of Mesopotamia was associated with the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is divided into three cultural and chronological periods: (1) the Obeid, (2) the Uruk and (3) the Jemdet Nasr, in the order of succession. They take their names from typical sites.

The authors of the proto-historic civilisation of Mesopotamia seem to have been the Sumerians. They are thought to have arrived in the earliest (Obeid) period from the continuity in the material culture of Mesopotamia.

A word about the date of this civilisation. Its beginning is now dated to about 3000 B.C. At Uruk seventeen successive layers of proto-historic remains have been found beneath the layer of the earliest historical times. The date 4500 B. C. has therefore been roughly assigned to the beginning of the proto-historic civilisation in Mesopotamia.

INDIA

Turning to India, recent excavations have made it clear that in early times the Indus valley had no less

than four successive cultures. The initial phase is represented at Amri, Pandi Wahi, Gazi Shah and a few other Sind sites. This phase is called the Amri period after the site of the first discovery. Above the Amri culture is that discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, called the Harappa culture. Above the latter is the culture first found at Jhukar and better represented at Chanhudaro. The Jhukar culture is followed by the culture of Jhangar.

The age of the 'Indus civilisation' is of paramount importance. Marshall has opined that it represents the Chalcolithic civilisation. 'Chalcolithic' is the name usually given to an age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper and bronze. The culture has however to be more accurately dated. Here the typically 'Indus' seals of square shape with Indian pictographs, found in different sites in Elam and Mesopotamia, come to our rescue. Some must be assigned definitely to the pre-Sargonic period: this is indicated by the animal file and the distribution of the text around the circumference of the seal, and not parallel to its axis as on the seals of Agade and later periods. King and Hall assign 2700 B.C. on archaeological grounds to Sargon and Naram-Sin. The Indian seals of Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C. A cylindrical seal found by Frankfort at Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) shows the animals peculiar to the Indus region, namely, the elephant, rhinoceros, and *gharial*, which were unknown in Sumer. Other finds include etched carnelian beads, kidney-shaped inlays, and specimens of knobbed pottery—all of the Indus valley pattern. Frankfort has assigned them to about 2500 B.C., for they were found in strata assignable to the time of the dynasty of Akkad. At Tell Agrab, Frankfort has found in a temple ascribed to 2800 B.C., a variety of votive offerings including fragments of a vase with the figure of a Brahmani bull of the Indus type. From these pieces of evidence it has been rightly inferred that the Indus civilisation must go back to an age before 2800 B.C.

Now, the excavations have brought to light seven 'structural' layers, that is to say, three of the Late Period, three of the Middle, and one of the Early, the layers underlying the latter being submerged in the subsoil water. The analogy of sites in Troy, Knossos, Athens and Rome would point to an interval of a thousand years between one layer and another. But Marshall would have us believe, from the possibilities of decay and destruction in the Indus valley and from the uniform nature of antiquities from varying levels, that a space of about five hundred years is all that can be allowed for one layer apiece. He has provisionally assigned the seals referred to above to the Middle Period and has accordingly suggested that the occupation of Mohenjodaro would fall

¹ T. K. Penniman, "Origins of Civilisation in the African Dry zone," *Antiquity*, No. 74, June, 1945, p. 96.

² *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 247E.

approximately between 3250 and 2750 B.C. He has, however, admitted that

"When this civilisation reveals itself to us, it is already fully fledged, and we are bound to postulate for it a long period of antecedent evolution . . . How long, one can only surmise, but it is safe to say that a thousand years would have been all too few for such a result."

Nor is this the only reason for ante-dating the Indus culture. It has been shown that the Amri culture corresponds to the Obaid culture of Mesopotamia, with the result that the Indus and Mesopotamian civilisations tend to converge. Now, the authors of the Obaid culture were the Sumerians who dominated lower Mesopotamia at the advent of the proto-historic period. The Old Testament refers to a people who "journeyed from the East and came into the plain of Shinar" (which is lower Mesopotamia). Speaking of the Sumerians, Hall says that

"They were decidedly Indian in type . . . it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race."

Further, Frankfort writes :

"It seems to me most significant that statues from Mohenjodaro show some of the same fashions in use in India as we meet with in Mesopotamia. It appears that the beard was worn while the upper lip was shaved; the hair was sometimes tied up in a chignon at the back of the head, and kept in position by a fillet, as we see in the gold helmet of Meskalamdug from Ur, and on Eannatum's stele of Victory. Now fashion in ancient or primitive civilisation is not to be taken lightly. It is recognised as a venerable link with the past; it proclaims the ethnic or national affinity of the individual. Fashion does not spread, under such circumstances, as a mere result of commercial contact. Consequently the similarities on coiffure, beard and moustache between statues from Mohenjodaro and those from pre-Sargonid Mesopotamia betray some sort of intimate ethnic relationship between the leading classes in those two regions."

It has further been pointed out by Mackay that B. S. Guha's measurements of the skeletal material

"lend some support to the suggestion that the people of Mohenjo-daro were more or less closely akin to some

of the early inhabitants of Sumer, as represented at Al-Ubaid and Kish. The skulls of his Group A agree fairly closely in size and shape with skulls found at those two sites."

As the Sumerians represented a foreign element in Mesopotamia,

"The possibility," according to the earlier view of Marshall, "is clearly suggested of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of their civilisation which, in its turn, lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian and Western Asiatic culture generally."

The Sumerians might have migrated to lower Mesopotamia by the sea and this is curiously enough corroborated by the Sumerian legends which locate the land of Paradise, where the gods first blessed mankind with civilised life, at Dilmun on the Persian Gulf.⁶

Further additional evidence for the dim antiquity of the Indian culture is provided by the probable origin of cultivation and the invention of the wheel in India. The investigation of plant genetics, which is an invaluable source in pointing to the origin of civilisation, was undertaken by Vavilov, the head of the U.S.S.R. Department of Applied Botany and Plant Breeding, and his colleagues. Their researches showed that bread wheat originated at a centre near the Punjab—"the fold between the Hindu-kush and the Himalayas." This is taken to be "the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats, and of the more important varieties grown in Europe and North America today."⁷ Moreover, "rye, carrots, turnips, and some types of beans, lentils, flax, and cotton, seem to be of Afghan origin."⁸ Secondly, Harappa has provided the first example of a wheeled vehicle. It is a two-wheeled copper chariot, open both front and back, and with a gabled roof and the driver seated in front.

"As an instance of a covered chariot this is the first example from the Indus valley sites, ante-dating the earliest use of a wheeled vehicle in Egypt by several centuries. The various examples of war-chariots on the mosaic standard at Ur (Cir. 3500 B.C.) are all four-wheeled and without a roof, nor is there any roof on the somewhat carefully modelled terracotta chariot of Ishtar with a high dash-board from Emete Ureag."⁹

Such indeed has been India's contribution to civilisation in the past. May her contribution to the progress of civilisation in the future be equally great.

6 *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, pp. 682-3.

7 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1928-29*, p. 20.

8 *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 360.

9 J. B. S. Haldane, *The Inequality of Man and other Essays*, p. 75.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

12 M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100.

8 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 108.

6 *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 1932, p. 172.

5 "The Indus Civilisation and the Near East," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1932*, Leyden, p. 11.



THE UPANAYAN SAMSKAR IN MITHILA

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I had an opportunity this summer to attend an Upanayan ceremony in Mithila (North Bihar). The whole thing is a huge affair, yet it is so interesting and delightful that even a stranger can understand the significance of each and every custom observed during the Upanayan ceremony (the Sacred-thread ceremony). On the other hand, though ignorant of the culture of Mithila, he will never be deprived of the pleasure, which an ordinary inhabitant of Mithila usually gets.

INTRODUCTORY

The Upanayan of a Brahmana boy is generally done between the age of seven to ten in Mithila. The implication is that, when the boy attains the first stage of maturity, he should undertake Upanayan. It is expected that after his Upanayan, the boy will devote most of his time in studying the various scriptures, law-texts, etc.



The would-be boy-brahmachari is seen coming out after putting the basket near the deity

PREPARATION DAY

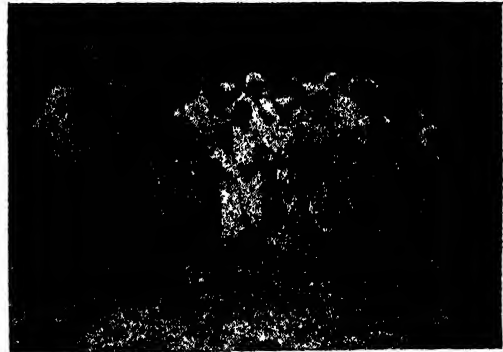
This is an auspicious day fixed up by the astrologers of the village (in consultation with the head of the family) some ten to fifteen days before the Upanayan actually takes place. On that day in the early hours of morning, the father of the boy (or the eldest member of the family) invites the elders and respected men of the villages to his place. And in that gathering he writes a formal invitation to his household deity in red-ink. This is done, as without the consent of this presiding deity nothing is done in Mithila.*

In the meantime, the women invited by the head of the family assemble in the courtyard, expecting the boy every moment from the assembly of men outside. They begin singing songs for the occasion since the dawn of the day.



The boy in the bamboo-garden : the Brahmin, in the rear, with an axe, is ready to cut the bamboo tree

The boy having a basket, specially arranged (to be put near the deity) and accompanied by the females of the family and the village, proceeds to give the formal invitation to the deity, written out by his father or by the eldest member of the family as the case may be. At this time he is seen wearing his usual daily clothes, except an old *paga* (head-dress), in order to indicate to the people in general that he is the would-be *brahmachari*.



A group of women with the boy in the bamboo-garden

The boy having put the basket near the deity, sets out to the bamboo-garden to cut bamboos for the *mandap* (a verandah-like house). He has throughout all his movements (outside his house) an iron knife with a nut affixed thereto. This is due to the fact that the iron-knife serves for the protection of the boy

* This is in formality only and no formal acceptance of the proposals by the deity is ever conveyed to the family members.

from ominous elements of nature, and the nut specifies the auspicious occasion.

With a group of ladies, he reaches the bamboo-garden. After a little anointing of the bamboo-trees (chosen specially for the purpose) the boy himself strikes a blow on them. Though he ought to cut them himself, but as he is too young, only the Brahmana members of the society cut them. After that he returns to the courtyard, and his business for the day finishes.



A member of the family worshipping the deity before the *balidana* ceremony

On the same day, formal invitations in well-composed verses, typical of Mithia, are issued to all the relatives of the family. Ladies sing songs and the village-band is in attendance throughout the ceremony.

Between the Preparation Day (known as *Udyoga*) and the Upanayan Day, the guests pour in large numbers.



Acharya and the boy before the Upanayan : *havana* is being performed

THE INTERVAL

And the boy has to undertake a sort of massage of barley-flour mixed with mustard oil daily in the afternoon. This is done in order to purify the body of the would-be *brahmachari*. The boy is also forbidden to go round the village during the interval. In the evening, the Mandap is prepared by the Brahmanas of the village. The pillars of the *mandap* are tastefully artistically painted by the females with numerous

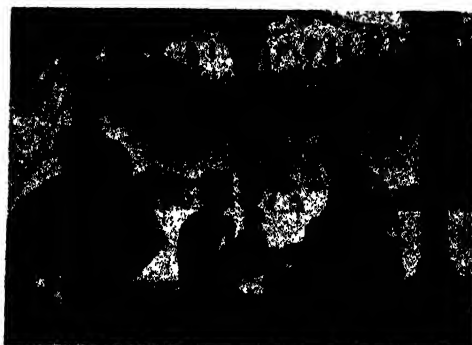
— Brahma and others.

The head of the family during the interval becomes busy with the purchase of necessary grains etc., for the great ceremony. The smiths, the carpenters and other men are ordered to prepare articles necessary for the occasion. The whole house seems to be humming with a peculiar noise, probably caused by the buzz-buzz of the workers engaged in the preparation of food, and in the various activities.

THE PRELIMINARY RITES

On the first Tuesday,* just before the Upanayan Day, the women along with the boy go to a near-by pond, where they take new mud for the erection of the stove-like fire-places, which is used during the various rituals of the Upanayan ceremony. After their return sprouting grams and mustard oil (sometimes coconut oil too) are distributed practically all over the village.

On the second night before the Upanayan day, the sickle-like weapons are worshipped. They are meant for the *balidana* (sacrifice) to be done the next day.



The *Brahmachari* receiving *diksha* (initiation) from his Acharya

THE KUMARAM DAY

This is the last day when the boy is in his *Kumaravastha* (i.e., in his childhood). He can up till now take food wherever and in whichever manner he likes. He is allowed to indulge in all the funs and games of the childhood, but the day following, he is no more to break the sacred laws of *brahmacharya*.

In the morning, the bathing of the boy follows the worship of the deity by the Acharya of the boy. After this, the *balidana* takes place. This is not preferred by the modernized inhabitants. But it has to be done, as the orthodox class of Mithila cannot accept otherwise.

However, the day's business comes to a close with a big feast to the relatives and members of the family in the night. The food provided is a typical one and we cannot find it elsewhere.

THE UPANAYAN DAY

In the second half of the night before (i.e., just before dawn) of the Upanayan day, the boy undergoes

* It is usually a couple of days ahead of the Upanayan Day.

a minor custom. Some mango leaves are tied round the knot of the boy's head. And, thenceforth, he is forbidden to take food mixed with salt for four days, and he is to wash his teeth in the morning with a mango-stick. All these signify that before becoming a *brahmachari*, a regular course of purification has to be undergone by the boy.

On the day, generally, coloured dhoties and sarees and also ready-made clothes are distributed among the relatives and members of the family, prior to any performance of rites. The whole atmosphere presents an air of joviality. Red, yellow, orange clothes everywhere, with beautiful decorations of the arches of the house, with buntings and coloured papers, add to the beauty of the place and occasion.

At the fixed hour, the whole process of Upanayan begins. The things prepared by the various smiths and others are put up on the *mandap*.



The Upanayan in full swing: decoration of the *mandap* can be also seen

In performing the entire ceremony it takes nearly four to five hours. The *Brahmins* of the village are invited. Their reception is well attended all the while, they distributing betels and nuts. Besides the village-band, folk-dances and folk-songs provide amusements to the invitees.

The most thrilling and delightful scene is witnessed when the boy (after his bath with holy water) assumes the *pulasku danda* (*palasha* stick) and *megha-lambara* (umbrella) and other things appropriate to the occasion. Then instantly one can see the lustre of the 'Great Entry in the *Brahmacharya*' shining forth from the boy's forehead. In the evening, the whole village is invited to a grand feast. For the whole night, variety entertainments are arranged for the guests.

THE FOUR DAYS

Before the concluding day, the *brahmachari* has to pass his days in strict *brahmacharya*. He is to perform *landhya* (recitation of Vedic mantras) three times a day. He is to take food without salt—specially prepared for him. In the evening, he receives *ashirvada* from his elders.

THE FOURTH NIGHT

It is so called, as after this very night the boy becomes a full *brahmachari*. The day passes with

balidana again to the household deity in the morning. In the night, the boy goes around the houses of his aunts and others in the village, begging *bhiksha* (alms). The idea in collecting *bhiksha* is that it would support the boy on his journey to the Ashram of his *guru*, as he is commissioned by the sacred scriptures to proceed to *guru's* Ashram just after the Upanayan ceremony.



A group of children, assembled on the occasion, is eager to take sweets

CONCLUSION

And thus the whole thing comes to a close. It is held in some quarters that the head of the family has to give a grand feast again to his near relatives, after a few days, on account of the successful termination of the whole ceremony. But this did not happen in the present case.



A group of male guests who attended the ceremony

The remarkable feature, which I noticed throughout the ceremony, was the importance held by elders to carry every minute detail of the rites with due observance of the customs. On enquiry, it was pointed out to me that such things, thus observed, have their scientific value. And many of them really have.

The Upanayan ended, and I too had to depart from there amidst memorable scenes—sisters, daughters, relatives taking leave of their relatives weeping. The place where one day thronged the feet of every traveller was now presenting a calm, serene and solemn air.

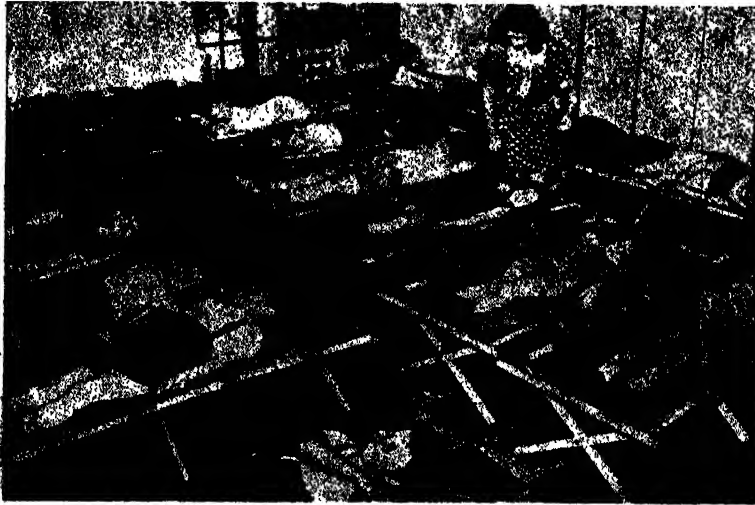
FLOATING HOSPITAL SERVES U. S. CHILDREN

A Floating Hospital which combines the facilities of a hospital, play school and pleasure boat, serves under-privileged New York City children and their mothers on summer days from July to September each year. Sponsored by St. John's Guild, a non-sectarian charitable organization, the Floating Hospital provides a day's recreation—a seven-hour cruise

history. It is a 186-foot barge, equipped with two diesel engines to supply power for sanitation and lighting, but pulled by a tug. Built in 1935, the present Floating Hospital is especially designed to be non-sinkable, even if split amid ships.

The staff responsible for the welfare of the juvenile passengers includes a doctor, a dentist, two trained recreation leaders, six nurses, two social service workers, two policemen, two firemen and a dietician. The doctor and dentist operate well-equipped clinics aboard ship. The doctor sees 40 to 55 small patients daily. The recreation leaders, assisted by Girl Scout Mariners, conduct a program of supervised play, handicraft classes, group singing, square dancing, and the showing of films with juvenile appeal, such as "Mickey Mouse," and "Pop-eye."

The six nurses assist the doctor and dentist and take care of babies, for which cribs are provided in a special area on the second deck. They prepare the babies' milk and feed them from bottles twice during the day.



Nap time and feigned or real slumber follow mid-day lunch for the young passengers

on the Hudson River—along with medical and dental care for children under 12 who are ill, convalescent, or under-nourished, and a day's outing for their mothers. New York City's many hospitals, settlement houses and baby clinics co-operate by distributing free tickets to children most in need of a day's outing. Children in need of exceptional care receive season tickets.

The Floating Hospital has been in existence since 1875. Before this war the cruise was on the waters of New York Bay. At 10 a.m. on alternate days the Floating Hospital picks up passengers at docks in the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, which are on opposite sides of the East River. The Hudson River flows along the west side of Manhattan Island as far as the George Washington Bridge, which is approximately 12 miles from the river's mouth. The Floating Hospital returns by the same route, docking at 4:15 p.m.

The present ship is the fourth to be used as for the Floating Hospital in its 70-year



Young passengers enjoying the antics of "Mickey Mouse" and other juvenile films shown daily in the Floating Hospital

The social service workers make a trip on alternate days, the one not aboard ship visits the homes of young passengers for whom the doctor has recommended additional treatment. The policemen and firemen are convalescent members of the New York City police and fire departments, whose chief function aboard the Floating Hospital is to help the

FLOATING HOSPITAL SERVES U. S. CHILDREN

Children and their mothers enjoy the day's outing. A dietitian supervises the preparing and serving the noon lunch to all passengers. The lunch usually

consists of two hearty sandwiches, a container of milk and fruit and cookies.

On occasions when groups from New York City



A New York City policeman helps distribute luncheon sandwiches to the Floating Hospital's passengers



In the medical clinic, the Floating Hospital's doctor gives a physical examination to young passengers



Handicraft classes, an important part of the Floating Hospital's program of rest and recreation, are conducted by trained recreation leaders



The head nurse examines the teeth of a young Floating Hospital passenger



The Floating Hospital starts its seven-hour trip on New York's Hudson River, towed by a tug



Out on a day's cruise aboard the St. John's Guild Floating Hospital

nursery schools make the trip the dietician provides the pre-school age (2 to 6 years old) children with a hot lunch. The regular nursery school routine is followed, with the co-operation of the Floating Hospital.

More than 35,900 young New Yorkers and their mothers were passengers of the Floating Hospital in its 52 trips in the summer of 1944.—*USIS*,

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THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE CLUB

By S. BROOKE-WAVELL

From India, China, Africa, and even from distant Tongkin, students, intent on learning the techniques of a New Age, are pouring into England's Universities, ready to absorb all that can bring new life and power to the industries of their own countries.

When they arrive they are faced individually with a great national problem—where to find a house to live. From Waterloo or London Bridge they go in search of their Embassies, braving for the first time in a taxi the myriad traffic of London. Sometimes they are lucky—an official knows just the place. "A man left only yesterday after a fortnight," he replies. "Why not try there?"

But the problem does not always prove so easy. If our student is one of a party of 200 Indians it becomes very difficult indeed. India House does what it can. Hotels and boarding houses are telephoned and

But what happens more often than not is that students are sent down to a very remarkable organisation in Croydon known as the International Club. Here, in the past, they have lived in corridors, shared billiard and ping-pong tables. The emergency intake brought 120 Sikhs, at two days' notice. A huge

marquee was erected—to serve for a week as their temporary home.

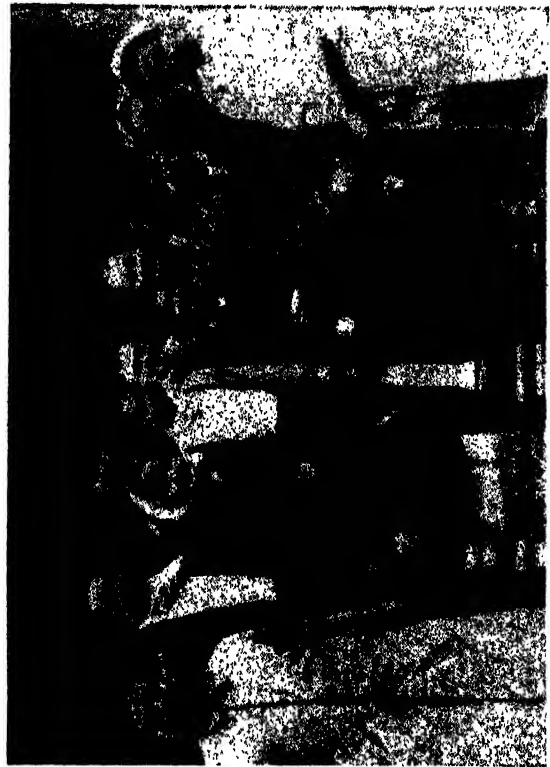
But whatever the conditions of discomfort, students quickly detect an atmosphere of freedom and a true welcome. They become part of a large community numbering 450 people drawn from over fifty different countries. As soon as other students move out, they are found proper rooms in one of 35 houses. The emergency for them is over and they can settle down to normal life in England and their studies. Such has been the welcome to England of a very large number of students in the past two years. They have arrived puzzled, sometimes annoyed that things were not better, but they soon realise that war-damage has rendered many thousands of people homeless, many of whom today are living in far worse conditions than they.

Now what are the prospects for the immediate future? Will students continue to arrive in England in large numbers without anywhere to go? What does the British Government intend to do for them?

In recent weeks considerable Government support has been forthcoming from Government departments for an ambitious plan to develop a £1,000,000 International Centre for 3,000 students to replace the



Mr. Ashoke Chatterji addressing the International Language Club on the "change-over" in India



Some of the members at a garden party



The International Language Club



At a garden party at the International Language Club

present International Language Club. In January, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning spced a 9½ acre site for this purpose, and swiftly upon this decision Mr. Driscoll, the club founder, has produced plans which will go far to realise every student's dream. Driscoll, a 35-year-old ex-engineer, started nine years ago with the ambition to found an institution comparable in size to Rockefeller's International House in New York and the Cite Universitaire in Paris. Today he stands very close to the realisation of that dream.



The High Commissioner for Pakistan at the International Language Club

His new Centre will consist of three main ferro-concrete buildings of simple design, six stories high and equipped with a swimming bath, gymnasium, library and a theatre, cinema and Assembly Hall combined to seat a 1,000. The convenience of the student has been considered by planning single rooms which allow him to study without interruption.

The social organisation of the Centre will have unique features which are far in advance of anything

attempted by Rockefeller's International House at Cite Universitaire. Next to his own room an Indian student might find a girl from Sierra Leone and on the other side a Chinese Professor from Kungming. For, one basic rule of the foundation will be no segregation of nationality, colour or sex. In the past this freedom has been respected, and Mr. Driscoll sees no reason why it should not continue so in the future. In marked contrast to this was the colour bar in New York removed only recently, and the rigid separation into national groups of students from different countries which was the rule in Paris.

Once established in comfort at the new Centre the student of tomorrow will wonder what sort of reception he will get from the people of Croydon. Will they be colour-conscious, snobbish and reserved, or will they go out of their way to make friends? None of these alternatives is quite true. The people of Croydon will treat him just like anyone else. English people on the whole are not quick to make friends with strangers: in Croydon nine years' education has made a difference. Saris, sarongs, longyis, dhotis and turbans are no longer the romantic prerogative of the screen. Today they are a familiar sight in Croydon streets, where dark faces mingle with the white and almond eyes no longer surprise the blue!

In the evenings when Croydon people attend their societies, clubs, dinners or fireside discussion groups they will invite you to join them. They know they have much to learn of your problems and they may ask you to speak at their meetings. The Club has a panel of fifty student speakers which grows increasingly popular and supplies the needs of organisations throughout the South London area.

These people, then, you will find, are really willing to be friendly. Whatever you have thought in the past of the Englishman abroad in strange lands, you will find him a very different person in his own home. The International Club will be your first teacher in this. And Croydon will run it a very close second.

If you go to England very soon, go there to make friends. You will find many. If you are looking for colour prejudice, you will probably find that too. But if you go as a normal student with a natural sense of pride in your own country and people, you will be accepted for what you are—one of the world's people. And remember, while you are in England, you can do much to educate English people, just as they are doing something to educate you.



U. S. AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

TEN million Americans—not to mention many millions abroad—are in the market for new cars. It will be perhaps two years or more before a customer can walk into a showroom as in pre-war days, order the exact model he wants and expect fairly prompt delivery.

Production of passenger cars was stopped in the early part of 1942, and all manufacturing facilities were converted to war purposes. Production of trucks continued on about the same scale as before, but only a small part of the production was allotted to civilian use.

There were about 34 million cars in the United

The reason why the U. S. auto-industry has grown to occupy the position it does is the large population and high income of the United States. Taking advantage of this, the auto-manufacturer has installed a vast amount of mass production equipment, the heavy investment in which is repaid by the low cost at which cars and trucks can be sold and the resulting great volume of sales. As a consequence of this cheap mass production American motor vehicles find sizable export markets in every country in the world.

The automobile industry, because of strikes and difficulties of reconversion, has got off to a slow start.

Between May, 1945, when the Government restrictions on automobile production were removed, and February 1, 1946, only about 140,000 passenger cars were made as against more than 500,000 forecast. As for truck production, it dropped during 1945 to 663,578 units from 761,368, largely because of the change-over from military to commercial vehicles following V-J Day and work stoppages at the end of the year.

Labor-management difficulties in both manufacturers' and suppliers' plants constituted important factors in production delays. The month-long steel strike which was generally terminated on February 17, 1946, will affect steel deliveries for weeks to come. The strike in General Motors Corporation, which in normal years

produces more than 40 per cent of the passenger cars and commercial vehicles sold in the United States, is still unsettled.

RETOOLING TAKES TIME

Materials and plant reconversion are still major problems. Retooling is extremely time-consuming and material shortages still plague manufacturers. For instance, motor vehicles were delivered to purchasers without window glass for a short time during the winter. Motor truck firms did this at the urgent demand of grocers, butchers and other clients in desperate need of vehicles. Dealers installed glass later when it became available. One company which ran out of glass for cab windows limited sales to southern states, where it was not cold at that time of year. When fuel pumps were unobtainable, another manufacturer installed a more expensive unit originally designed for use in a high-price passenger car.

Disposal of surplus cars released by the armed forces alleviates the situation only slightly. There are



Finished cars coming off an assembly line in an automobile factory

States at the close of 1941. Since then the number in use has been declining by about two million yearly, compared with an annual pre-war increase of 1,250,000. Besides these eight million automobiles that have been junked during the past four years, many cars now in service are past the retirement age. And the question asked daily of dealers everywhere, "When will I get a car?" still remains unanswered.

HIGHEST DOLLAR VALUE OF PRODUCTION

The U. S. motor vehicles industry stands first in value of production in the United States. There are about ten manufacturers of passenger cars and twice as many of trucks. Three firms produce about 90 per cent of the passenger cars and many of the trucks. A very large industry has grown up, composed of many firms supplying parts to the automobile builders. Important parts, such as frames, wheels, carburetors and radiators, are chiefly supplied by speciality makers. In 1939, the census reported 1,064 firms in the entire industry.

few passenger cars released; some trucks, jeeps and special vehicles, such as bomb service trucks are being sold as surplus, but for the most part they have to be converted for civilian use and in any case their numbers are inadequate.



Automobile factories converted to the manufacture of airplanes during the war are now back again to the peacetime pursuit of making cars

January production figures introduce a note of optimism into an otherwise gloomy picture. More than 58,000 passenger cars were produced during that month, approximately a 100 per cent increase over December equal to two-thirds of the total production. January truck production of 54,864 units was almost double the December output. The latest production figures for February carry out the promise of the January figures, showing 30,000 cars weekly. In 1941, weekly production was 90,000 units.

This sharp spurt in automotive production despite the continuing strike at General Motors and partial stoppage at Fords through inability to obtain parts, offers an indication of what may be expected when industry gets into its full production stride.

AUTO-PLANTS ARE BEING EXPANDED

To meet the tremendous demands for cars, trucks and buses, automotive companies are building 25 new assembly and manufacturing plants in a 1,000 million dollar program for reconversion, expansion and modernization. Structures are being erected in 11 states, from Massachusetts to California.

Some 2,400 of the newest type of production tools and machines also are being ordered for car manufacturing purposes. In addition, the industry is negotiating for several thousand Government-owned machines which can be converted to peacetime uses.

Under the new building program, five plants will be built in Ohio, four in California, three in both Michigan and Illinois, two each in Georgia, Missouri and New Jersey and one each in Massachusetts, New York, Delaware and Tennessee.

Currently, the job of reconditioning and installing machinery in existing plants is about 100 per cent completed. The task involved moving more than half of the machine tools owned by the industry, an estimated 100,000 having to be repositioned. Simultaneously, thousands of presses, heat-treating furnaces, conveyors, paint spray booths and similar equipment were handled.

SIX MILLION CARS A YEAR

When the program is rounded out the motor industry expects to employ more workers than at any



The first civilian truck comes off the assembly line at the huge plant in Chester, as reconverted from the manufacture of Sherman Tanks

time in its fifty-year history. Vehicle production is expected to attain a six million unit rate yearly, nearly double the average rate before 1941 and more than 1,500,000 above the peak year 1929.

The prices of cars rolling off the assembly lines are about five per cent higher than comparable 1942 models. Increases granted by the Office of Price Administration are mostly for engineering improve-

ments. Another small rise in prices will result from the recently granted increases in the prices of basic steel.

There are no radical changes in the 1943 models for the simple reason that the basic dies used in the 1942 models are being used. Without adopting this expedient manufacturers could not have begun production in 1943. The principal change has been in the front end, particularly the radiator grill, which has generally become more massive and tends to give the cars a lower and broader appearance.

Mechanically, the new cars contain a certain number of improvements, and manufacturers' listings range from a modest 27 to over a hundred. Most of these are minor changes aimed at passenger comfort or ease of servicing. One of the manufacturers, however, features a front-wheel drive and utilization of space over fenders and running boards to enlarge seating capacity. Another change is in the new Ford V-8 engine, which develops 100 horsepower where the pre-war engine developed 90.

FORD ECONOMY CAR

Substantial improvements and several new models will arrive only in 1947. Of special interest to India is the Ford plan to produce a brand new low-priced, light-weight, full-sized car. Economy will be the keynote of the projected car, which is still in the "hush-hush" stage. It is expected to sell in the neighborhood of 575 dollars (Rs. 1,800) in the United States. And if Ford builds a new car of this type the chances are that General Motors and Chrysler will do the same.

Willys is set to begin production of a full line of lightweight, low-cost, gas-saving passenger cars designed by Delmar G. Roos, chief designer of the jeep.

The Willys plant at Toledo, where the jeep was "hatched," is now turning out the civilian version of this most versatile of vehicles. The civilian jeep is a combination light truck, tractor, mobile power unit that can be used to work farm or other equipment, and passenger conveyance which sells for 1,090 dollars. With 30,000 orders on hand and a promising foreign market, the company feels optimistic about the future of the jeep.

On exhibition at the company's Toledo plant is the current pride—the fire-fighter jeep, a compact fire-fighting machine which will sell for less than any regulation fire engine on the market. Painted red with brass fittings, the fire-fighter jeep is fully equipped with pump, hose, nozzles and extinguisher, and a 500-gallon-per-minute pump and two lengths of suction hose to draw water from reservoirs and creeks. It is designed for use in industrial plants and as an auxiliary unit for rural and urban fire companies. In the city it will be able to get to a fire and hold the blaze under control until heavier and less maneuverable units arrive.

Among its other accomplishments the fire-fighter

jeep climbs stairs. Another light car manufacturer is Crosley Motors, which has a four-cylinder, four-seater car, with an aluminum turret on the top of its program. The makers state that the Crosley is capable of maximum speed of sixty miles an hour and can do fifty miles to the gallon through the use of lightweight engine.



Pistons in preparation

SHIPBUILDER TURNS AUTO-MANUFACTURER

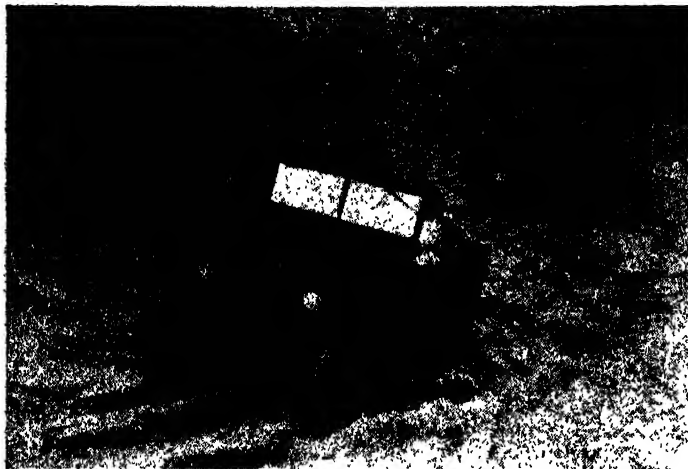
An interesting development in the American automobile industry is the new automobile company started by Henry Kaiser, the shipbuilding wizard, and John Frazer, veteran automobile executive, who is president and general manager of the newly formed Kaiser-Frazer Corporation. The company has taken a five-year lease of the Willow Run plant in Detroit, which was turning out bombers during the war.

For the present, the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation plans to build two types of cars, the Kaiser and the Frazer. Both cars will be full-sized, six-passenger automobiles. Both will be more or less conventional in appearance.

The Frazer will sell in the medium-price field, roughly in the price bracket with Dodge. The company expects to begin delivering the Kaiser, a lower-price car that will sell for less than 1,000 dollars, by June. The Kaiser may possibly have a rear-end engine.

BETTER AUTOS

The automobile industry is looking not only to greater quantity production but also to better automobiles that will perform more economically and



The versatile jeep, a war development has come to stay with greater safety. The lessons learned in aircraft production will be applied in future automobile models.

Specific details of improvements that will go into the 1947 models are naturally being kept secret by

manufacturers. But among the changes regarded as inevitable in the evolution of the auto-industry is the general adoption of automatic transmission to eliminate the gear shift and clutch pedal, reduction in weight and improvement in windshield and window design to provide a better view of the road.

It is taken for granted that the tremendous "know-how" in metallurgy acquired by American engineers during the war will soon result in tangible benefits to users of commercial and passenger vehicles. One of the departures from conventional auto-construction will be the use of plastics and light metals, particularly strong aluminium alloy.

Already inter-city buses with bodies and frames made almost 100 per cent of aluminium alloy are being manufactured. They will be an average of 1,000 pounds lighter, resulting in increased payloads and reduced operating costs. The new buses are being made with the aid of a number of aircraft manufacturing techniques. One of these is the use of soft metal dies, composed of a material with a lead base. It eliminates much handwork used prior to the war in cases where high-cost iron and steel dies were not economically justified.—*USIS*.

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KASHMIR, PAST AND PRESENT

By PROF. N. B. ROY

KASHMIR, the land of Kashyapa or of Kashafmar, the legendary son of Brahma, enjoys the reputation of being "the paradise of the Indies." A land of lakes, clear streams, green grass, magnificent trees and sky-kissing mountains, its beauty has been so variously described that the very name of it conjures up before us visions of

"Hills, vales, woods, netted in a silver mist,
Farms, ganges, doubled up among the hills, . . .
And cottage gardens smelling everywhere
Confused with smell of orchards."

If the scenic beauty of this land has formed the theme of writers and poets, the physical grace of its inhabitants, especially the beauty of the fair sex has been proverbial.

"The women of Kashmir," says the acute Frenchman Bernier, "are very handsome" and it is from this

country that nearly every individual when admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mongols." *Travels*, 404.

In the keenness of intellect, delicacy and urbanity of manners the Kashmiri Brahman has hardly any rival in India except the supple quick-witted Bengali Hindu who is also possibly his compeer in the art of making subterfuges and playing hide and seek; the Kashmiri artisan has been equally noted for his handiworks and manufactures which are marked by novelty of design and fineness of execution. The exquisite shawls and carpets, splendid lattice-work and wood-carving of the country captivate and delight even the fastidious westerner. During the time of Babur a jigha designed on a scarf by an Andijani

* Bernier relates that he discovered novel means of obtaining sight of the Kashmiri beauties, "I followed the steps of some eunuchs, particularly one richly dressed and was sure to be gratified with the sight that I was in search of; because the ladies no sooner hear the ringing of the silver bells suspended from both sides of the doorway than they all put their heads to the windows. This is a spectacle with which I often amused myself in Kashmir, until a more

satisfactory method of seeing the fair sex was devised by an old pedagogue . . . with whom I read the Persian poets. I purchased a large quantity of sweet-meats and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses, to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia, rich and eager to marry. As soon as we entered a house, he distributed my sweets among the children, and then everybody was sure to flock round us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present."—*Travels*, 405.

weaver is said to have set the fashion for a similar thing on scarves and shawls. They had a deft hand in varnishing and the art of imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood by inlaying with gold threads is said to have been carried by them to perfection. Their palanquins, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoon and various other things were also in use in every part of India owing to their fine workmanship and beauty. (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 402). The temples and mosques of this land are remarkable for their grandeur and individuality and bear evidence to the innate artistic temperament of the people. As a competent authority says, "The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations. They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own." The geographical position of this valley in the map of Asia is also an aspect that arrests attention. Through her lies the way from India to Tibet, China and Central Asia. Merchants and missionaries have jostled together on their pony in their zigzag journey to the countries beyond her borders.

When the heir-looms of which the Kashmiris are proud e.g., their arts and crafts, temples and mosques are called to mind, one feels tempted to believe that they must have attained to great political heights. But such a view would be entirely mistaken. History testifies that when the intellect outruns character, the sterner virtues are impaired. Look at the Florentines of Medieval Italy. The Kashmiris with all their intellectual and artistic gifts have been nonentities in Indian history. A Lalitaditya rose and fell like a meteor. Generally its population, though of strong build and muscular strength, have submitted to the alien ruling dynasties without much opposition or even grumble. The Mauryas, the Kushanas, the Hunas, the Turks, Chakas, Pathans, and the Sikhs held the political stage of this kingdom and its inhabitants submitted to them with the same passivity and resignation with which a Chinese offered fealty to the changing emperors of his country.

The lot however, of the common man in Kashmir was not the same in every age. During the Hindu rule he was better looked after; he could practise his religious rites without any restraint, enjoyed a certain status before his ruler, owing to the link of common religious and cultural ties. But when the Muslim conquest of the country took place, a violent change came upon the life of the Hindu population. The religion of Islam with its monotheistic creed is uncompromising in its hostility to idol-worship and any representation of the divinity in stone, metal and paint inflames the religious wrath of a Muslim. When the followers of this faith made themselves masters

of this country, they found that the Hindu with his innate aestheticism, had turned every lovely spot—and which spot is not lovely in Kashmir—e.g., a spring of water overshadowed by a chinar tree, a scarp of rock, a mountain torrent or a secluded glade, into a sacred site by putting a *badripath* (stone-seat of Mahadeo) and the phallic emblem.* It is not therefore strange that Islam took up here a violently crescentading character. In northern India the sharp edge of the Rajput sword, the immense number of the Hindu population and the long distances to be covered had forced the Moslem to the expediency of allowing to the Hindu the private exercise of his faith in return for the payment of *Jzya*. In Kashmir the Moslem ruler was not bound by any such restraint. The son of Kashmir can toil and endure but he lacks the fighting capacity of the Rajput, so that the Moslem rule has been one of sweat and tears for him. Even before the establishment of Moslem rule, the idea of proselytising missing to this country caught the fancy of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and he urged Shaikh Shamsuddin Yahya upon this errand. Sultan Firuz also directed his eyes to this direction and the people of Rajauri were converted to Islam by him. (E. & D., Hist. India VI. 376). But it was under the Kashmiri Sultan Sikandar that the destruction began of the priceless monuments of Hindu art and the forcible conversion of the people. "*Islam wa qatalhu*" (Islam or death) sums up his policy, and this pious monarch has gone down in history as (*butshikan*) idol-destroyer, an imitation Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna who has remained, in the eyes of Muslim clerics, the pattern of Islamic kingship. No wonder the legend, however fantastic it is, grew up that Sikandar had killed so many Brahmins that their sacred thread weighed seven maunds. The rule of Zain-ul-Abedin was no doubt a golden age for his subjects including the Hindus, whom he recalled from exile and granted full civic and religious rights. But it was so exceptional a phenomenon that the myth had to be invented of a *yogi's* soul being fixed into the dying Sultan's body, so that the Sultan became a *pucca* Hindu after his resurrection. Regarding this incident Nizamuddin Ahmad says:

"The Sultan became so ill that people washed their hands of his recovery. At this time a Yogi appeared in Kashmir and said that I shall separate my soul from my body and put it into the Sultan's. The Sultan's attendants . . . took the Yogi . . . to the royal bedside . . . Thereupon the Yogi bringing his soul out of his body, by a science which he knew, joined it to that of the Sultan's. The Yogi had previously instructed his attendant chela to remove his body to the ashan (ashram?) and guard it there. When the disciple brought out the Yogi's body the Sultan's attendants hastened to the latter's side and found that he was in full health."

There were other Sultans like Sikandar, e.g., Fath Khan (1489-93) who is said to have "converted 24,000

* Abul Fazl records that in his time 45 places of worship existed to Siva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Buddha, together with nearly 700 figures of serpent Gods in Kashmir.

brahman families", and Ghazi Shah a good number of families to Shiaism.

Under Akbar the Muslim state in India was secularised and the blessings of this new political order were shared by the Kashmiris too. But clerics lurked behind Jahangir's throne and to their influence may be ascribed the decree by which the Emperor banned the prevalent practice of Moslem girls being married into Hindu families and adopting the faith of their husbands. The long-standing usage continued to persist, and Shahajahan had to reinforce the original edict with penalty for the incriminating husbands. It was then discovered that as many as four thousand Muslim girls had entered the Hindu fold by this system of marriages (*Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, by Prof. S. R. Sharma, p. 106). During the same reign a Hindu chieftain named Jagu is said to have accepted Islam, at the desire of the Emperor, with all his kinsmen, and to have been honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand. The puritanical Aurangzib has left bitter memories behind in Kashmir. According to Guru Khalsa Tawarikh by Bhai Gyan Singh (quoted in Gwasha Lal's *Kashmir*). Iftikhar Khan, the Viceroy of Kashmir, abducted Brahman girls and the Emperor pressed the Brahmans to embrace Islam. Chafing under shame and insults, the Brahmans approached Guru Tegh Bahadur with solicitations to save their religion. It is said that the Guru overcome with sympathy for them suggested that they should represent to the Emperor saying that they would have no scruple in accepting Islam, if the Sikh Guru discarded his own faith and became a convert to the Muhammadan religion. Naturally Aurangzib put all his pressure upon the Guru, who died a martyr. This version agrees in substance, if not in detail with the account of Tegh Bahadur's death given in *Sir Judunath's Aurangzib, III*, p. 313, and is not therefore a figment of the Sikh writer's imagination.

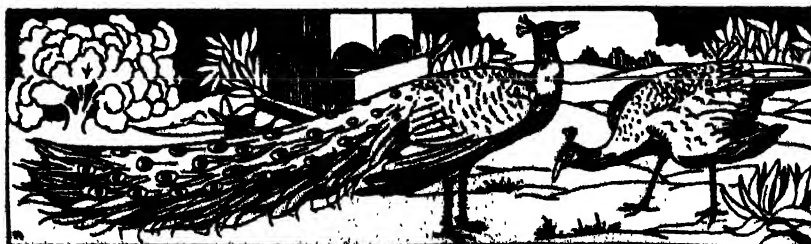
Under the successors of Aurangzib, imperial authority declined leaving the subject population to the tender mercies of the distant officials. An incident of 1720 A.D. recorded in *Masir-ul-Umara* (Per. Text. III, 761-765) helps us to get a view of things in Kashmir. In that year the censor Muhtawi Khan *alias* Mulla Abdunnabi Khan pressed the Naib Subahdar Mir Ahmad Khan, to ban the public practice of Hindu religious rites, their riding horses and wearing armour. The Khan did not yield consent whereupon the Mulla began to insult the Hindus with fisticuffs (*shikanja*) wherever he found them. Once

he fell upon the leading Hindu citizen Majlis Rai, belaboured him and his companions while they were feeding a number of Brahmans in a park of the city. As he could not get hold of the Rai, he went to the Hindu *mahalla* with his following and set fire to it. Next he invested the Naib Subahdar's house where the Rai had taken shelter but as the latter was not surrendered, he threw the whole city into a commotion by rousing the Muslim population to arms. The residue of the Hindu houses that had escaped fire were now pillaged and burnt and a veritable pogrom was enacted. The Rai was dragged out of his shelter along with his associates who were circumcised, some "having their particular limb (*azw-i-makhsus*) cut off." The Mulla then went to the Jama Mosque and himself assumed the reins of government under the title of Dindar Khan. The word Dindar means pious and verily no title more apposite than this befitted this defender of Islam.

After the Afghan conquest a tyranny of the worst sort was set up and the adage obtained currency, "*sar buridan pesh-i-in sang-dolan gul-chidanast*" (the cutting of head was to these stone-hearted, as the plucking of flowers). One Ata Muhammad Khan was so ferocious a libertine that the Kashmiri parents resorted to the device of shaving off the head and cutting off the tip of the nose of their daughters to save them from dishonour. Things did not improve materially under the Sikh rule. The former religious terror no doubt ended, but the economic pincers were possibly applied with greater rigour. Thus writes Moorcraft:

"The number of Kashmirians who were to accompany us . . . proved here to be no exaggeration, and their appearance, half naked and miserably emaciated, presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation. The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle."

Subjected to age-long tyranny the charming people lost their manliness and sense of self-respect. Hence when the greedy free-booter hurls himself upon the land and sweeps like a hurricane across the country, raping Baramulla and sacking Gulmarg, the Kashmiri flies either in abject fear of his life or cowers before him. The old order is however dead in Kashmir and let us hope that the new dispensation under Sher-i-Kashmir Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah will regenerate the country and bring back the glory that was Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abidin.



ANDRE GIDE

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

THIS year, the much-coveted Nobel Prize in literature has gone over to the 77-year-old French novelist, Andre Gide. This ensures him a position he has already earned by the side of the literary giants of France. The Nobel Prize is due to be awarded to a writer who has produced literature with a predominantly idealistic trend. Gide is not an idealist of the type of Rodland, or even of the type of du Gard. His is a different world, entirely his own, a world of individualism. To call him a mere novelist however, would be to detract from his many-sided achievements as a litterateur. If he is a novelist of a very high order, he is also a critic of great importance, and while he has not founded a school or created sensation like Rimond or Paul Valery, he has done a lot towards the development of his younger contemporaries, especially through his *La Nouvelle Revue Francaise*. He shows himself an adept also in the art of essay writing in his *Pretextes*, and is the author of several interesting dramas like *Saul*, *Oedipi*, etc. His travel books created a great sensation and earned a mixed reputation, and his two books on Soviet Russia drew the hornet's nest about his head. Gide has translated from some of the master writers of the world, namely, Shakespeare, Conrad, Blake, Whitman and Tagore. He has earned the distinction of rendering two Tagore's masterpieces, *The Song Offering* and *The Post Office*. Leaving apart the qualitative value of his work, one is impressed by the range, variety and versatility of his literary output.

Andre Paul Guillaume Gide was born on 21st November, 1869. Having received his education in Paris, he made his debut into the literary world. *The Immoralist*, which may be said to be his masterpiece, has earned approbation of the reading public. This book, however, was preceded by essays in composition which have only developmental importance but not much value artistically.

The Immoralist may be said to be the masterpiece of Gide as well as a very formulary of his vision of life as it is. Gide, however, would claim detachment; he says in the preface: "I seemed within an ace of being confounded with him (the hero)." The book is the autobiography of a young man who, from his high pedestal of ascetic idealism, lapses, as a consequence of his illness and early premonition of death, into an aggressive type of hedonism and moral irresponsibility, so that, the rational character of life, of which he was an ardent worshipper, yields place to the vital and instinctive. The young man convalesces nursed by his newly married wife, but his philosophy of life maintains the deep hedonistic tinge which it had taken on. At Biskra he appreciates the naive boy stealing things, and back at home, he throws all rationalism overboard admiring even drunken life at taverns. His crumpling individualism gradually cripples his moral nature completely, and while his wife falls seriously ill, he becomes sullen and exclusive and lets her die a neglected death.

The Immoralist shows a world of individualism in a state of decomposition. The book is Gide's own picture of

an immoralist or rather, an a-moralist, pursuing in detached seclusion the cult of individualism poisoned by the seed of its own ruin,—a fact of which Gide is fully aware. The book, as Gide himself says in the preface, is 'a fruit filled with bitter ashes', and all it can offer one's thirst is a "still more fierceness." As a work of art, the book can claim great distinction, written as it is with a fine sense of balance and proportion and a penetrative analysis of the lower depths of the human mind.

Another very interesting novel by Gide is *Strait is the Gate*. Here the heroine who has inherited from her mother a wonderful beauty, and a mysterious temperament which verges almost on the neurotic, has a fatal strain of spiritual longing in her which would be satisfied with nothing short of holiness and purity. She is however engaged in marriage with a young man of her choice, Jerome. But a premature glimpse of evil, in her mother's connection with a military man, upturns the mild, smooth, and if somewhat frail, balance of her mind. Her young love poisoned with shame, she decides not to marry but to spend the rest of her life in celibacy expiating the sin of which she has a terrific vision. Like the previous novel, this one also is a novel of frustration. With Gide, evil is a permanent and necessary condition of life and can not be eliminated. Jerome the youth, to whom Alissa, the heroine was affianced, insists on earthly happiness in marriage, while she prefers renunciation in search of an impossible perfection, and in her struggle between her piety and profane love, dies at last in a nursing home.

A vision of evil in an unredeemed and unmitigated form, and a daring experiment in sceptical reading of life one finds embodied in *Vatican Swindle*, in which, Lafcadio, a prototype of Gide's immoralist hero, illustrates the theory in his own picaroonish manner, and himself a juggler, conjurer, acrobat and mathematician, makes a novel display of motiveless malignity, throwing out a person from a railway carriage to his death. This novel shows a breakdown of form with its shapeless interweavings of plots and by-plots, and has the smell of a crime thriller. The novels of Gide are a gallery of the disillusioned 'hollowmen', who line out life's sky with dark flashes of tragic frustration.

Another important work of Gide is *The Counterfeiters*, which is conspicuous by the lack of a clear-cut theme. The novel is written in the shape of extracts kept by Edward, the novelist, who is writing a novel entitled *The Counterfeiters*, containing his study of life as he can see it. Full of illuminating psychological analysis, the book is also a novel of ideas, the problem posed here being the reality of art. The book has betrayals, desertions, insanity and murders, and is somewhat morbid in its atmosphere. Here we feel that novel as a form of art is adrift on the formless mass of consciousness. Speaking of Galsworthy, Woolf says that this celebrated novelist gives us life no doubt, but not life in its unplumbed depths. Gide is largely responsible for new technique in fiction writing,

of probing into the sub-conscious, a method which was so much encouraged by the psycho-analysts.

In this respect Gide is the precursor of Joyce and Proust, and foreshadows the analytical school of fiction-writing. While Anatole France represents a concrete, realistic and even ironical view of life, and Rolland, the idealistic and sensitive view of it, Gide is prone to display life in a flux. Worship of the 'instinctive' and 'vital' in place of the 'rational'—this is the key-note of his novels. Gide also represents something of the last flavour of the 19th century with its dreams, decadence and disenchantments, and here he has affinity with Wilde. Gide is a confirmed individualist, and pushed to extreme, pure individualism leads to stagnation. Only the dynamic re-charge from life can kindle it into the same incandescence which is the characteristic of great art. Gide's novels often lack this vitalising touch. Having no larger and no more dynamic view of life he allows himself to be circumscribed within a narrow corner, haunted, not by healthy shadows of men and women but by dead souls, winking, whispering and fretting within the charmed ambit of irrational self-seeking. Gide does not like to take sides and offer solutions; he considers his mission fulfilled when he has presented his story. He speaks in a vein of remonstrance about the public who would not forgive an author if he does not take sides with this or that character. Gide claims neutrality in this respect. Neither is he burdened with any message.

Gide's reaction to the Soviet Russian experiment is a pointer. The revolution in Soviet Russia with its complete defiance of all codes and conventions, suggested as anarchical repudiation of all accepted values, and appealed easily to Gide, a bit of an anarchist in himself on an individual scale. It also stirred up in him a vague expectation of a Utopian condition of humanity. In his *Back From U.S.S.R.*, he says that in the early stage of her re-orientation, Soviet Russia was to him 'more than a chosen land—an example, a guide . . . where Utopia was in process of becoming reality.' Even in 1936, while in Russia, he spoke in the following vein, denouncing fascism and praising Russia, on the occasion of Gorky's funeral:

"The menace to culture comes from fascism, from narrow and artificial nationalisms which have nothing in common with true patriotism. . . . The menace to culture comes from war to which all these nationalisms and their hatreds finally and necessarily lead. I wish to declare before all . . . that it is to the great international revolutionary forces that must fall the task, the duty, of defending, protecting and of illustrating culture afresh. The fate of culture is bound up in our minds with the destiny of Soviet Union. We will defend it."

Here is a faith in the Soviet Union almost to a dogmatic extent and an adoration almost with a mystic fervour. But as a result of a closer acquaintance with the country and also of a sudden change of attitude, he claims right to criticise the country, because, he says, of his admiration for it.

"We were promised a proletarian dictatorship," he goes on, "we are far from the mark. A dictatorship, yes obviously; but the dictatorship of a man, not of the united workers, not, of the Soviets." (*Back From U.S.S.R.*).

Here he bitterly complains of the narrowness of the Russian mind, conditioned, as he says it is, with careful and planned suggestions, to look upon everything Russian as above criticism. Education is there no doubt, "but the only objects of this education are those which induce the people to find satisfaction in its present circumstances . . ." The point raised here is regarding freedom of thought, a problem which induced Rolland to issue declaration of independence of thought in 1919. But even Rolland had subsequently to revise his opinions regarding the precise implication of such freedom in modern democracy. Gide's book on Soviet Russia created storms of controversy. He says in his *Afterthoughts*, sequel to *Back From U.S.S.R.*, which he wrote in order to clarify his position:

"The publication of my book *Back From U.S.S.R.* brought me great many insults. Romain Rolland's gave me pain. I never cared very much for his writings, but at any rate I hold his moral character in high esteem."

In this book Gide categorically declares his disillusionment regarding Soviet Russia like many other disillusioned dreamers:

"The U.S.S.R. is not where we hoped it would be, what it promised to be, what it still strives to appear. It has betrayed all our hopes."

It is interesting to compare the reactions of the two writers regarding the most contentious country. Rolland's high idealism and naked sincerity earned him appreciation from men of different, and even, of opposite groups, a fact borne out by Gide himself. Why Rolland hailed Soviet Russia, which professes materialism unlike himself, as the harbinger of world peace, is explained by his undaunted heroic sincerity, so that this great savant, the preceptor of Europe, standing at the bar of public opinion, consoles disillusioned writers like Bounine and Balmont with a new hope for mankind; the new order in Soviet Russia is bloodstained, but he does not reject it; he goes to it:

"I go to the infant . . . he is the hope, the wretched hope of humanity's future. It is yours; in despite of you, it is of your blood, Bounine and Balmont."

Gide speaks of fascism as an enemy of culture. Rolland also says:

"That is the real enemy (fascism). It is fascism which must be smashed." (*I Will Not Rest*).

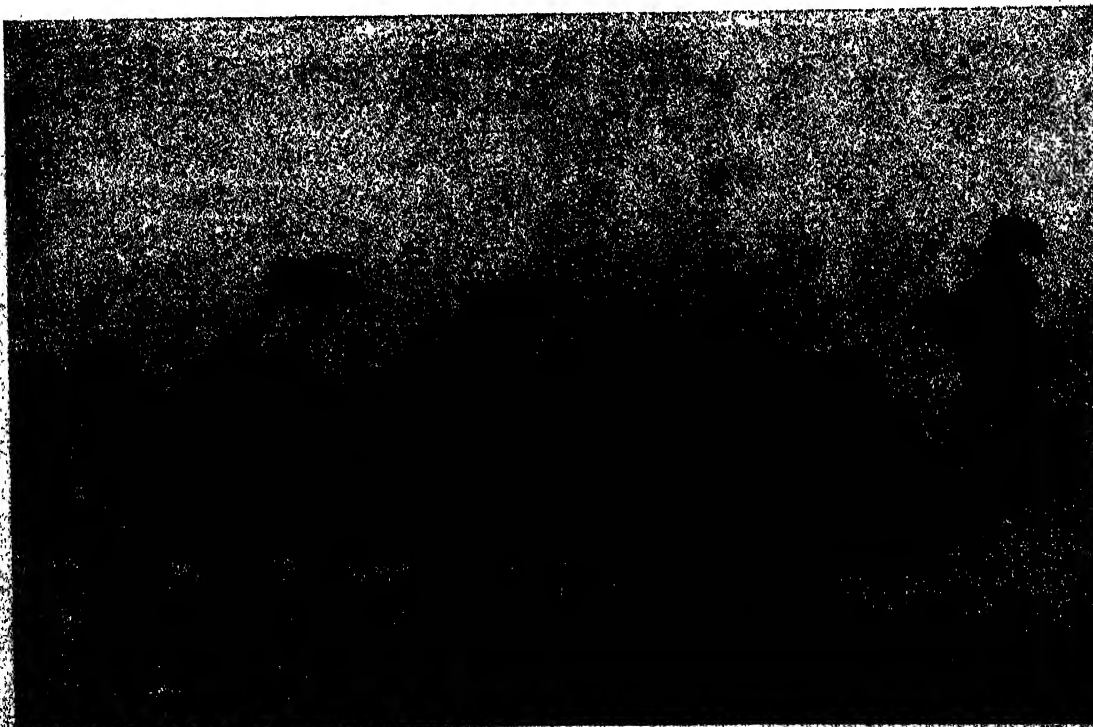
But when it comes to the question of the freedom of thought in Soviet Russia, no two writers differ more than Gide and Rolland. Gide says:

"Free criticism, liberty of thought—these in Soviet Russia are called the opposition."

But Rolland, an indefatigable optimist as he is, comes forward with his creed revitalised:



India's 700,000 villages, in which all but 11 per cent of her people live, govern themselves through the ancient institution of the Panchayat—the Council of Five—the one institution similar and constant amid the startling dissimilarities of India and the Indian States



Women in an Indian village display traditional grace in every gesture as they welcome the guest



The Residency, Lucknow



The humble folk of an Indian village

"The independence of mind as I understood it in 1919, when I sent out an appeal in its name, is a tree which stretches its arms towards the sky. But its roots are almost wholly in the soil. It is doomed to die if we do not succeed in transplanting it in the midst of humanity, the 'black earth', represented by the working people."

This conviction grew so strongly on him that he sent out an appeal to intellectual workers to join hands with manual workers.

"Our place is above all by the side of the proletarian workers. We are flesh of their flesh. Their independence, their power, is our independence and power."

This is much like Gide at the Moscow meeting. But Gide has not faced life, having taken shelter in his ivory tower. The orchid-like view of culture has made him forgetful of the insistent and undeniable demand that life might make upon art. Here again Rolland's view is worth quoting as regards the relation between the artist and the society:

—:O:—

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By BEPIN B. BANERJEE

THE co-operative movement was ushered into the country with the laudable object of improving the health, sanitation, education, etc., of the village people through co-operation among themselves and of saving them from the clutches of the Mahajans or village money-lenders. To secure this end, rural societies were formed in different parts of the country with unlimited liabilities and a Department of Government was opened for the care, control, supervision and audit of the movement. Banks known as the central co-operative banks were established at important centres of the province from which money was lent to the villagers at an easy rate of interest not exceeding 10 to 12 per cent in place of the Mahajans' rate which often ran up to 150 per cent. Funds were invited from the public for financing the central co-operative banks and they flew in from all quarters, as unlimited liabilities and care, control and supervision of governments were considered almost as a gilded security against such investment.

But despite all these plans and precautions the movement has become a dismal failure, there being now neither co-operation nor credit in it. The shrewd people of the country-side stole a march on the authors of the movement by surreptitiously enlisting members in village societies who have no property of their own nor have they entered upon their ancestral property as yet; unlimited liabilities are thus quite inoperative on them. To add insult to injury, they have, on the other hand, found in the nominal rate of interest at which they can borrow from the central banks and that also with no very great obligation to pay, an excellent means of squandering other people's money on mar-

"The artist, even the most individualistic, when imagines himself to be expressing nothing but himself, does no more than execute the part dictated to him in advance in the development of the symphony that started centuries ago before him. All that he adds to it is his accent, is his odour. We are all members of the great orchestra. Isolated from it, we should be nothing but pitiful fiddlers."

Aesthetic criticism has often changed its course, and that again in a very striking manner. The transition from the age of Pope to Wordsworth's is one of the miracles of literary history. Increasing consciousness of sociological forces has caused constant revaluations of values. We are living in an age when the general trend is to tear off art from its aesthetic isolation and to establish it on a more democratic foundation. A sense of utilitarianism has crept into the modern judgment of art and literature. To a modern, accustomed to this new appreciation of literary values, Gide's works will appear to be hot-house products, not born out of the 'black earth' as Rolland calls it. But as an artist Gide will continue to claim a rare distinction which must be ungrudgingly paid to him.

riage festivities, litigations, country-dances and other gaieties and frivolities. Had proper care been taken in the selection of members of rural societies, the landless members could not have snapped their fingers at unlimited liabilities as they do now.

There is, again, nothing in the law to prevent the propertied members of rural societies from alienating their property on the eve of the unlimited liabilities being set in motion against them. Unlimited liabilities, the main plank of the movement, have thus been reduced to a mere scrap of paper for want of foresight and care on the part of the Department under which it is placed and the condition of the village people, instead of being improved, has become decidedly worse, as even a casual observer may testify.

But the whole brunt fell on the creditors of the banks. They have not only their interest stopped for years but their principal is now paid, as it were on doles, as pro-rata at the rate of 2 to 10 per cent per annum and that also not on the original but outstanding balance making the full payment run on *ad infinitum*. Had any private banks failed to honour a single honest draft or to pay on maturity, the Government would have come down upon them, but they have been suffering these and many ugly things besides, to be done by the banks under their care, control, supervision and audit. The wonder of wonders is that, though the village uplift and the Government credit are all gone, the Government is still persisting in maintaining a large establishment under a Minister only to suck the last drop of blood of a movement that is all but dead.

DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ON Wednesday, the tenth of last September, passed away Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy at Boston at the age of seventy. Three weeks before his death on Friday, August 22, the seventieth birthday of this world-famous savant was celebrated in Colombo, London and New York as well as in several University centres of U.S.A. For the last thirty years of his life Dr. Coomaraswamy was connected with the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, first as a Research Fellow in Oriental Art, and later as curator of the Section of Indian and Far Eastern Art. After his demise he was described by the Museum officials as "one of the greatest scholars in his field."

Ananda Coomaraswamy was born in 'Rheinland', Kollupitiya, Colombo on August 22, 1877. He had a distinguished father in Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy, who is said to have been the first Knight in Asia and certainly the first Hindu to have been called to the Bar in London. Sir Muthu was an erudite scholar in English, Pali and Sanskrit and translated the *Dathavamsa* (History of the Tooth Relic), the first Pali work to be rendered into English. During the reign of Queen Victoria he was a well-known figure in the learned Society of London. Disraeli, who introduced him as Kusinara into one of his novels posthumously published in 1905, was one of the many eminent Englishmen who became his intimate friends. Sir Muthu married an English woman named Elizabeth Clay Beeby who was endowed with considerable artistic and cultural attainments. Lady Coomaraswamy left Ceylon for London with her only son Ananda when the latter was barely a year old. Sir Muthu who was to have followed them a few months later in May, 1879, died suddenly on the very day he decided to sail. Lady Coomaraswamy died in 1942 as an octogenarian. Young Ananda, who was a cousin of Sir P. Arunachalam and Sir P. Ramanathan, was therefore a descendent of one of the most distinguished families of Ceylon.

Fatherless Ananda received his education first at Wycliffe College at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, England and later at the London University where he graduated in Botany and Geology and obtained the degree of Doctor of Science in Geology. At the age of twenty-two he began to contribute articles to learned periodicals. Dr. Ananda married an Argentine woman named Dona Louisa Runstein and had a son. Dona Louisa is a brilliant linguist and scholar in her own right. The young Doctor had an attractive appearance with a slim and stately figure of six feet and two inches, clear olive complexion, prominent nose and short beard.

At the age of twenty-five Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy returned to Ceylon, and in spite of his youth was appointed Director of Mineralogical Survey of the island. He held this responsible office creditably for three years from 1903 to 1906 and made a name.

"His administrative reports," says Dr. G. P. Malalasekera,¹ "are still unsurpassed in that field of Science and contain the fullest and most accu-

rate account yet available on the geology of ancient crystalline rocks of Ceylon."

While holding this office Dr. Coomaraswamy travelled extensively in the island and collected with meticulous care a vast amount of materials and published them later in his *magnum opus* entitled *Medieval Singhalese Art*. Reviewing this monumental work, which is still the most authoritative work on the subject, Sister Nivedita wrote:

"A classic has been written and written from the Eastern standpoint by one fully competent to have dealt with a Western subject of the same kind with equal authority."

Dr. Coomaraswamy ascribes the constant inspiration and sustenance of Medieval Singhalese Art to Indian culture and observes that the impulse to the expression of emotion in Art is born on the sense of the Unity of all life, the recognition of the Many is One. Appreciating Dr. Coomaraswamy's philosophy of Art, Sister Nivedita praised him in her review mentioned above.

for his 'demonstration of the fact that Art like Science, like religion has her eyes upon the Unseen that transcends the Seen; that the crafts and industries of India are inspired and guided by the conviction that mind alone is, and matter but appears.'"

Dr. Coomaraswamy's monograph of the bronzes in the Colombo Museum published in 1914 is an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

During his stay in Ceylon Dr. Coomaraswamy was greatly distressed by his own people's senseless craze for imitating western habits and customs. In order to stem this undesirable tide of westernisation he founded in collaboration of some distinguished citizens of Colombo the Ceylon Reform Society and remained its President for many years even after he left Ceylon. He cried a halt to the trend of denationalisation of the island and moved to safeguard its national traditions and customs and to promote indigenous education and art. As a member of the Ceylon University Association he fought fearlessly for a University which has been established later. In 1906 Dr. Coomaraswamy finished his term of office as the Director of Mineralogical Survey and left the island. Then he made a tour all over India and the continent and then settled down for a while in England. There he brought out some important works on Indian art and culture and among other activities assisted to form the Royal India Society in 1910. For about a decade from 1907 to 1917 he was engaged in study, lecturing and writing which grew in intensity when he joined in 1917 the Boston Museum where he spent the last thirty years of his life. Under his direction Indian, Persian and Eastern collections at the Museum have become among the most important in the world.

Since 1917 Dr. Coomaraswamy has written and lectured in many centres of culture in America and Europe and is the author of more than sixty books and monographs. His *History of India and Indonesian Art* is another out-

¹ See his article in *The Times of Ceylon* for Friday, August 22, 1937.

² See Dural Raja Singham's article in the *Hindu Organ of India* (Calcutta) for August 22, 1937.

standing work on the subject. A bibliography of his works compiled by the Michigan University of U.S.A. on the occasion of his 65th birthday listed more than 500 publications. The number that has grown considerably in the last five years of his life includes many voluminous books, a very large range of pamphlets, articles and critical reviews issued not only in India, England and America but also in France, Germany, Finland and Rumania. He was a master of half a dozen languages and his book-littered study contained books in more than a dozen languages. Mrs. Coomaraswamy testifies to a visitor that the Doctor worked everyday including Sundays from seven in the morning until ten at night permitting himself very little relaxation. Dr. Coomaraswamy was F.L.S. and F.G.S. and was in charge of Art Section at United Provinces Exhibition of India held in 1910-11. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; Fellow of University College, London; Vice-President, India Society, London; Hon. Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India, Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, the Hague; Gesellschaft fur Asiatische Kunst, Berlin; and Hon. Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, etc.

Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of Ceylon, rightly observed that Dr. Coomaraswamy was a world-figure in the realm of scholarship. Sir Charles Collins, Chief Secretary to the Government of Ceylon, described this great savant as an ambassador of understanding, an interpreter between the East and West. In a broadcast talk from Colombo on August 22, 1947 Dr. G. P. Malalasekera aptly described him as possessing a myriad-minded intellect comparable perhaps to Leonardo de Vinci in its universal interests. Dr. Coomaraswamy's researches were world-wide and all-embracing, ranging from philology of at least a dozen languages to music and archaeology, from the ancient metaphysics of India and Greece to the most modern problems of politics and sociology. For all these and many more extraordinary attainments he has been rightly called one of the greatest minds of our age. Before E. B. Havell and A. K. Coomaraswamy it was only the Greek Art that was considered as great Art by the Westerners and the Westernised Indians. Those works of Indian Art where Greek influence was detected was counted worthy of attention. Hence Coomaraswamy's earlier works were concerned chiefly with the exposition of the Philosophy of Indian Art. As William Rothenstein has clearly pointed out in a graceful tribute to his fellow-savants, it was Havell and Coomaraswamy who were mainly responsible for sweeping away many ignorant notions and wrong theories about Indian culture. Dr. Coomaraswamy changed the perverted views of the Western and Westernised scholars and held before the world the superb qualities and the overwhelming power of Brahmanistic sculptures. He called insistent attention to the pure Indian character of Indian genius and revealed to the world at large the incomparable beauty and grace of the Rajput and Kangra paintings that are spiritual and hence more Indian than those of Moghul artists. His embracing perspectiveness, says William Rothenstein, made him not only the discoverer of Indian art but also "the sensitive interpreter of Indian literature and music."

An Indian named S. Chandrasekhara met Dr. Coomaraswamy in the early part of 1947 at his country residence in Needham, Massachusetts. The latter was so modest that he consented to meet the former if Chandrasekhara promised to ask no biographical details. Both went out for a drive and had a talk in the car. The Doctor told the visitor that he would be retiring next year from the Museum and that he was planning to return to India after an absence of thirty years to settle down and to enter into that he called his 'Vanaprastha and Sannyasa ashramas'. Asked where he was likely to settle down the Doctor said, "Perhaps at the foot of the Himalayas or in Tibet; some spot where I shall be least accessible." Chandrasekhara asked the Doctor whether after having lived thirty years in Boston and accustomed to myriad comforts and conveniences of the American life he would not find life in the Himalayas difficult. The Doctor answered, "These comforts are beneath contempt! Look at my house. I don't have a radio because I can't stand one. The longer I have lived in the United States the more Indian I have become, and therefore I shall be happy when I shall settle down in India."

Dr. Coomaraswamy regretted to Chandrasekhara that the Indian students seem to bring nothing to this country, not an iota of Indian culture, as they are regrettably ignorant of their own country's heritage. He never liked the high standard of American way of living. In this connection he observed to Chandrasekhara :

"I am against the concept of raising the standard of living endlessly. There will never be a possibility of contentment. Life is larger than bath tubs, radios, and refrigerators. I am afraid, the higher the standard of living the lower the culture. Why, more than fifty per cent of Americans, have never bought a book in their lifetime and the Americans have the highest standard of living in the world. 'Literacy is not education and education is not culture.'"

The following tributes paid to Dr. Coomaraswamy in the West show how his contributions have been appreciated in that hemisphere. A writer in the *New York Herald Tribune* has called him the scholar, curator and priest of Oriental Art. Another admirer in the United States wrote that he was tall, handsome, of sovereign colour, the image of God carved in sandalwood. Here is a personal tribute from Eric Gill who has met him in the flesh and says this of him :

"Others have written the truth about life and religion and man's work. Others have written good clear English, others have had the gift of witty exposition. Others have understood the metaphysics of Christianity and others have understood the metaphysics of Hinduism and Buddhism. Others have understood the true significance of erotic drawings and sculptures. Others have seen the relationships of the true and the good and the beautiful. Others have apparently unlimited learning. Others have loved ; others have been kind and generous. But I know of no one else in whom all these gifts and all these powers have been combined . . . I believe that no living writer has written the truth in matters of art and life and religion and piety with such wisdom and understanding."

4 See his article in *The Arya Path* of Bombay for August, 1947.

5 See the *Ceylon Daily News* for Friday, August 22, 1947.

6 See the *Ceylon Daily News* for August 22, 1947.

ON BEING AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

By Dr. HARIDAS T. MAZUMDAR,

*Professor of Sociology, Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico, U. S. A.**

TODAY, July 7, 1947, in the District Court of San Miguel County, Las Vegas, New Mexico, Honorable Judge Luis Armijo conferred upon me one of my most precious possessions, American citizenship.

Now I am trying to ask myself what this thing, called becoming an American citizen, means.

First, it means to me a new birth. The pledge of allegiance to the United States of America—means that some of my old loyalties must be given up, some of them be rearranged, and some new loyalties be assumed. I cannot and will not deny the land of my birth, Mother India. My spiritual values and inspirations have been, in the first instance, derived from the rich and noble legacy of my forebears who went to India some 6000 years ago, while their cousins went to Europe. I still consider myself heir to the noble Sanskrit language, eldest sister of all European languages, and to the Hindu system of numerals mis-called Arabic. I still look upon Mahatma Gandhi as one of the prophets of our age, and I cherish my past associations with him.

My new birth this day means that whereas in the past I used to think of serving India, America, and the world, henceforth my humble effort shall be to serve America, India, and the world. Being a product of two cultures, Hindu and American, I shall strive to import into the American scene some of the positive values of Hindese culture. The exalted philosophy of India and the dynamic democracy of America can be wedded together, and it shall be my humble effort to promote such a consummation.

Second, my new birth as an American citizen enables me to graft onto the youthful virility of this nation the mellow philosophy and outlook of ancient India.

Third, while the American-born citizen takes his citizenship for granted, I cherish the privilege of American citizenship. I have now become a co-worker with 140,000,000 of my fellow American citizens in the task of demonstrating and living the values of democracy. Citizenship confers obligations as well as privileges. The most cherished privilege of American citizenship is that one may look the world in the eye confidently, with self-respect, viewing others as equals. The most significant obligations of American citizenship are: teamwork, reconciliation of conflicting interests by goodwill and by due process of law, per-

formance of tasks at hand directed toward the improvement of our local community, state and nation, and we hope, the world.

Fourth, being an American citizen means not only taking part in the civic affairs of one's community but also active participation in the making of policy for one's community, state and nation—and the world. I am looking forward with great eagerness to the day when I shall cast my first ballot in an election. America is called upon to demonstrate to the sick world that the way of ballots is far superior to the way of bullets—and much more enduring.

Fifth, democracy rests upon the assumption that the voice of the people is the voice of God. But the judgment or action of a people operating as a crowd or a mass is anything but divine. Hence the wise Thomas Jefferson laid down that an enlightened citizenry is an essential to a healthy democracy. I do not foresee this nation of ours doing anything seriously wrong; but if ever, unfortunately, my America should tread the path of wrong-doing and unrighteousness, I would discharge my obligation as a citizen by working with might and main for righteousness and justice and goodwill.

Sixth, my acquisition of American citizenship today reminds me of my childhood experiences. In a literal sense, George Washington beckoned to me to come to this country. In the Second Gujarati Reader of my grade school, there was a lesson about a boy named George Washington and about his experience with the cherry tree and his Dad. The lesson ended by saying, "And the truth-telling George Washington became the Father of his country." In my childish way of thinking, I mused to myself that if George Washington was so good and if he became the Father of his country, his children too must be good and truth-telling; some day I ought to visit George Washington's children. Well, I have been here for a quarter of a century and I can truthfully say that my childish picture of George Washington's children has been found to be true—true, that is, in every respect except when the American people are engaged in a political election campaign. I cannot vouch for the truthfulness of Washington's children when they are engaged in the national pastime of election campaigns! That reminds me that as a citizen I am assuming a special responsibility to try out whether an election campaign cannot be carried on without mud-slinging.

Seventh, to the saints and heroes of India I have now added the heroes and saints and statesmen of the New World. I can visualize Emperor Asoka (3rd century, B.C.) and William Penn walking hand-in-hand, striving to bring about a warless world. The wise and heroic Washington, the statesman Thomas Jefferson, the philosophic Benjamin Franklin, the saintly Lincoln, the soldierly Grant and Lee—these makers of America are now part of my forebears. Emerson and

* The citizens of India were declared ineligible for American citizenship by a Supreme Court ruling in 1923. In 1946, Congress enacted a law putting India on a quota basis and making nationals of India eligible for citizenship in this country. The author, born in India, took a leading part in securing passage of that legislation. He is the author of many books on India and Gandhi and international affairs. His latest book *The United Nations of the World: A Treatise on How to Win the Peace* (1st ed. 1942, and 2nd ed. 1944) suggests a basis for constructive American policy. At present, the author is associated with New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico, as Professor of Sociology.

Thoreau and Walt Whitman reinforce the outlook of universalism I had inherited from the culture of India.

Eighth, as a humble soldier in the non-violent army of Mahatma Gandhi, I contributed my share toward the breakup of the British Empire in India. The result, however, is less pleasing than anticipated, now that the British Raj is about to make its exit. India is distraught and divided. I hope she may learn from the federal union idea of America. However, it is not for me now to urge upon India any specific plan of action; I can but offer a bit of advice as an American citizen interested in the well-being of India's four hundred million people.

Ninth, as an American citizen I cannot be blind to the gigantic tasks confronting us of the present generation both at home and abroad. Here at home the relations between capital and labor must be adjusted on the basis of mutual accommodation and reciprocal responsibility. Political liberty must be implemented with economic security within the framework of our democratic society. Abroad, even before the last shot of the military campaigns was heard, a new threat to peace and orderly procedure was posed by our Ally, the Soviet Union. The iron curtain must be lifted if the world in our generation is to experience a new birth of freedom. As an American citizen, I am proud of the statesmanlike behavior and accomplishments of General McArthur in Japan. But our handling of the China situation is less satisfactory. I believe Yalta was an act of appeasement and must be undone. The Truman-Marshall doctrine is worthy of the noble traditions of America. One must say, however, that there is a certain amount of timidity in our State Department. The descendants of pioneers

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must cast off timidity. Co-operation, secured at the expense of compromise and appeasement, is not worth having. Non-co-operation resting on principle is preferable to co-operation based on appeasement. The solid body of American principles of democracy is more than a match for the most rampant totalitarianism in the world.

Tenth, as an American citizen, I realize the urgent need today for us to live in the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi and the Great Emancipator. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with chivalry toward the vanquished; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to bind up humanity's wounds, to care for him, friend or foe, who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all, which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. Such is the spirit of Lincoln, of America, within the context of our times.

For generations America has stood as a beacon-light to the world hungering for freedom. The American Declaration of Independence has given inspiration to the oppressed of the world. The American Constitution holds forth the promise of American life to all who care to accept it. American federalism may bring hope and life to a dying Europe and to strife-torn India and China. The American insistence on the dignity of man is the one bright spot in our darkened world. The Founding Fathers are watching us; we cannot fail them.

As an American citizen, I hope to do my humble share in maintaining intact the noble heritage of this great land, in enriching that heritage, and in bringing within the reach of all mankind the promise of American life.

LABOUR CONDITION IN INDIA DURING THE WAR

By LAKSHMI NARAIN GUPTA

THOUGH India has made much progress in her industrial development due to the two world wars, yet organised industries regulated by the Factory Legislation absorb only 9.4 per cent of the total working population. An idea of this can be had from the total number of workers engaged in the factories:

Year	Average daily number of persons employed
1938	1,740,331
1939	1,748,561
1940	1,844,428
1941	2,156,377
1942	2,282,237
1943	2,436,312
1944. (figures are estimated)	4,584,338

Though the number of workers employed in factories is very small as compared to those in other countries yet the industrialists and the Government have so far not been able to offer them good facilities

so that they may be more efficient and more workers may be attracted to serve in the factories.

The condition of the Indian labourers engaged in the various kinds of industries is very pitiable. They have a very low standard of living. According to the report of the Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory, "The majority of the population lives on a diet far remote from the most moderate standards of adequate nutrition." Their life is no better than that of a dog. Their condition is no doubt somewhat better in factories owned by a few eminent industrialists.

There is excessive crowding in the industrial towns, such as in Bombay, Cawnpore and Calcutta, etc. The largest increase has been in Cawnpore and then in Ahmedabad between 1931 and 1941, which is 99 per cent and 97 per cent respectively. This was all during the war. In spite of the fact that the population has nearly doubled there, has been no proper

housing scheme for the increased population except the starting of a few development societies after the war.

The workers live in ohawls, huts, and even on roads situated in unhealthy localities, having no medical facilities, no adequate water supply for drinking and other purposes, no proper disposal of sewage and rubbish, etc. The Government hospitals do not care a bit for them.

Besides this, the condition in the factories is also very unhygienic. All these defects not only decrease the efficiency of the workers, but also reduces the expectation of life which is a blot on our society.

More than this, there are all sorts of underhand policies which are played at the time of recruitment. There is no security of service for these workers, for they are always at the mercy of the employers who may turn them out at any time they like. They are made the tools of the political parties, who exploit them only for attaining their political ends and who have no interest in the welfare of the workers. The workers are under-fed and under-clothed.

War

With this condition of the Indian workers, the war began in 1939. Though the wages of the workers have gone high, the State is taking more interest in labour problems. Working hours have been reduced from 54 to 48 since the year 1946, labour legislations have been passed, social security schemes have been prepared. Housing schemes are there and several other schemes are under consideration, but as it is even now one can very safely come to the conclusion that the condition of the Indian workers has in no way improved during the war. The question which naturally arises is that what is the reason for this, in spite of the fact that wages have been increased and working hours reduced.

The simple reason is that though the wages have increased yet the cost of living has gone higher than the increase in wages. As soon as the war began the prices slowly began to rise, but they were at their highest level in 1943-44, which can be seen from the following table :

Index of Wholesale Prices			All India		Working class cost of living
End of July, 1914=100			General 19th August 1939=100	Food last week, Aug., 1939=100	index in Bombay City Year ending June, 1934=100
Calcutta	Bombay				
			(a)	(b)	
1939	108	109	118.7	112.1	106
1940	120	118	118.0	107.3	112
1941	139	137	130.0	116.6	122
1942	185	219	159.4	153.6	157
1943	307	(c)	229.4	255.3	230
1944	298		241.3	234.6	237
1945	289		244.1	235.3	232 (d)

(a) Average of 5 months, (b) Average of 4 months, (c)

The latest figures from the Economic Advisor's Index of wholesale prices of food articles (base last week of August, 1939=100) for the week-end of August, 1947, worked out to 283.4 as compared with 233.9 (revised) for the previous week and 252.2 for the corresponding week of last year.

During the week cereals and pulses remained stationary at 293.6 and 535.0 respectively while that for other food articles advanced from 226.9 (revised) to 228.2.

During the war India was the principal base of operations on both the sides, i.e., East and West. As a result of it employment increased in those factories producing munitions, though most of the workers were mainly unskilled. But as a result of increased industrial activity it was essential for the Government to improve the labour relations and welfare facilities. Accordingly, steps were taken for the same and ordinances were passed.

1. *National Service Ordinance* : During the war, there was control on technically trained workers. So, in order to take maximum advantage from them the above ordinance was passed. According to this ordinance, various categories of skilled and semi-skilled artisans were specifically mentioned in a schedule and all such technical workers between 18 and 50 years of age who were not in the armed forces were made

Discontinued, (d) Average of 8 months.

liable for employment in national service. Any factory engaged in war-work could be declared by notification to be a factory engaged in national work. The ordinance was amended in 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944, and thereby a number of changes were introduced.

2. Several other ordinances were passed for the regulation of employment :

i. *Essential Service Maintenance Ordinance* (1941) : Whereby all the workers employed under the Crown or private concern were declared to be essential in the interests of the war efforts and so the workers were required to stick to their jobs.

ii. *Motor Vehicles Drivers Ordinance No. V of 1942* : Under which the Government was empowered to requisition the services of any person or persons qualified to drive the motor vehicles.

iii. *Railway Military Personnel Ordinance, 1942* : Regulating the employment of members of the armed forces in the working and management of Railways.

3. *Rule 81-A of the Defence of India Rules, 1942* : Gives power to the Government of India to ensure that disputes, when they arise, are settled without the necessity of resorting to direct action. The rule empowers the Government to refer industrial disputes to "adjudication" with the provision that adjudication award can be enforced by the Government.

Different training schemes were also introduced during the same period such as :

1. *Technical Training Scheme* : The scheme was instituted by the Government of India in 1940 to provide for the Technical Branches of the Defence Services and for ordnance and munitions factories.

2. *Bevin Training* : This scheme was outlined by Mr. Ernest Bevin in 1940 for the training of Indian workers in factories and workshops in England with the object of accelerating munitions production in India.

Certain other steps were taken for improving the condition of the Indian workers and ordinances were passed to that effect.

Statutory Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund of 1944 was created under powers conferred by S. 72 of the Government of India Act, 1935, for improvement of conditions of labour in Coal Mines out of funds derived from a cess or an excise duty.

War Injuries Compensation Insurance Scheme : To impose obligation on the employer to pay compensation in respect of war injuries.

Creation of "Employment Exchanges" : The Government decided to start Employment Exchanges in 1943 for employment of those persons who have been thrown out of employment after the war and now the number of such exchanges have increased considerably.

• INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

During the war a number of strikes took place though the number of such strikes had been fewer than what they were during the last year. Concerning this the Royal Commission on Labour rightly reported in 1931 that :

"An important factor at work in creating industrial unrest in India is the lack of contact which too often exists between employers and employed. There are employers who by special efforts, have established reasonably close touch with their workers, but they are exceptional. In practically every centre and every industry (with the exception of plantations) the lack of contact and understanding is evident. In the interests of all concerned, we urge that every effort should be made to bridge the gulf."

The same warning was repeated by Mr. Harold Butler, British Minister in Washington, and formerly director of International Labour office, who visited India in connection with an official mission to the East in 1937. He said that

"The problem of Industrial relations may be considered to be the chief problem confronting Indian industries at the present time, and one upon which further industrial development to some extent depends."

The Reconstruction Committee Report (II) says that

"Increased attention is being paid to labour matters, and there must in the post-war period be a quickening up of progress throughout the labour field. Labour policy must produce conditions in which labour can feel that it is a partner in industry and in the undertakings in which it works and which ensure to labour fair conditions both of work and relaxation."

With the outbreak of the war, in order to maintain the production level at its maximum, it was

essential for the Government to care more for Industrial Relations and so in January, 1942, the Government of India by a notification added Rule 81-A of Defence of India Rules in order to put a check to the strikes and lock-outs. The rule empowered the Government to make general or special orders to suit the local requirements to prohibit strikes and lock-outs and refer any dispute for conciliation or adjudication, to require the employers to observe such terms and conditions of employment as might be specified so as to enforce the decision of the adjudicators. Later on Provincial Governments were also vested with such powers and it was specified that nobody could go on strikes unless two weeks prior notice has been given. It was also provided that when a certain dispute has been referred for adjudication or conciliation nobody could go on strike and for two months therefore certain amendments were later on made in the above ordinance.

In Bombay, Industrial Disputes Act (1938) was amended in 1941 which applied only to Textile industry and which set up a machinery for arbitration of disputes in which both the parties agreed to arbitration. The amendment made arbitration compulsory in certain cases as a war measure and this empowered the Government to refer to arbitration any dispute which it deems will lead to serious disorder or may cause hardships to the community or affect the industry adversely.

The reasons which seem to hold good are that Labour is becoming conscious, it resents the high profits made by the industrialists, it is not satisfied only with a living wage but it also wants a share in the management. Another reason seems to be that there are interested political parties who have no interest in the welfare of the workers except that of the attainment of their political ends, so India at present needs sound trade unionism and good labour leadership.

During the war several Labour Conferences were held to devise means for putting a stop to the strikes. The Central Government appointed Labour Adviser in the Labour Department and 7 assistants for industrial areas in different parts of the country. In 1945, a separate machinery was set up for the promotion of industrial relations. The organisation consisted of Chief Labour Commissioners with headquarters at Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore respectively and 23 labour inspectors located at various centres throughout the country. It will deal with industrial relations, conciliation of labour disputes, administration of labour legislation, collection of information on wages and other labour matters.

Labour welfare during the war took the form of assistance to workers by the establishment at or near the workshops, of canteens and restaurants as well as shops for sale at concession rates of food, grains, cloth and other essential goods which were being sold at much cheaper rates than the usual rates prevailing in the market.

Today there seems to be a strike fever, everywhere workers have a mind to strike at any

time. It has spread like an infectious disease. Those who could never dream of strikes have gone on long strikes, such as Banks, Post Offices, Railways. The largest number of strikes took place in the year 1945-46 an idea of which can be had from the following statistics :

Year	No. of Disputes	Workers involved	Loss of Handdays
1941	359	291,054	3,330,503
1942	694	772,653	5,779,945
1943	716	525,088	2,342,287
1944	658	530,015	3,447,300
1945	848	782,192	3,940,892
1946 (up to July)	1,115	1,508,757	7,496,292

As a result of these strikes the production in the factories have considerably gone down. The problem at present before the Government in power is that of increased production. The labour member, the Hon'ble Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, Government of India, while speaking at the 8th session of the Indian Labour Conference declared, "Our watchword should be improved working and living condition for the workers and increased productivity." Stressing the need for increased production he said, "A mere increase in wages, unaccompanied by increased productivity will be worse than useless, because it will set in train a vicious inflationary spiral of high prices and high wages each trying to catch up with the other." As the labour member rightly observed, "These (improved working conditions and increased productivity) can be brought about only by each party recognising not only its rights but its obligations not only to the other party but to the community as a whole." Elucidating how a strike in an important industry dislocates the entire economic structure he said, "A strike in an important industry is not merely a dispute between an employer and a worker but involves a stoppage of production, which causes serious inconvenience to the community."

During the war, coal mining labour presented special problems. The usual workers were attracted by other wartime occupations in the neighbouring areas either because of their less arduous character or because of high remuneration offered. So there was special need for improving the amenities provided for the miners and in order to promote the welfare of coal miners, the *Coal Mines Labour Welfare Ordinance* was passed in 1944. The ordinance provided for the establishment of a fund to finance welfare activities. The fund was to be made up of a levy or cess by the Central Government at a rate (not less than one anna and not more than four annas a ton) to be fixed from time to time. This fund could be utilised for building purposes or improvement of housing and the provision of water supply facilities for washing, educational and recreational facilities, measures for improving public health, sanitation and standard of living of miners generally. The Central Government also appointed a Coal Miners' Welfare Commission.

The most important problem at present before us

is that of agricultural labour, which forms the major part of our country. Up to this time, no attention has been paid to them, but the latest five-year plan of the Central Government makes provision for the improvement of their condition and some positive steps are likely to be taken. Next is the problem of seamen whose condition has not as yet been improved.

GOVERNMENT PLANS

For the improvement of labour conditions, the Central and Provincial Governments have got their different plans. Among these a programme for Health Insurance has been prepared by the Central Government known as "Adarkar Plan of Health Insurance." The difficulty up to this time had been that the Central Government as well as the Provincial Governments had not been taking any interest in such plans and they were not ready to finance the scheme. But with the coming of the new government in power, we hope that it will give full consideration to the plan and give every possible financial help to the scheme in order to improve the condition of the worker.

The latest plan of the present Government for improving labour condition is the five-year plan. The Labour Member, the Hon'ble Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, addressing the Provincial Labour Ministers' Conference suggested that there is need for the institution of a Ministers' Conference which would meet regularly once a year to formulate a policy and periodically review its execution.

"Our immediate task," the Labour Minister said, "will relate to the promotion of fair wage agreements, standardisation of wages, rationalisation of the rates of dearness allowances, organisation of Industrial Training and apprenticeship schemes with a view to improve the productive and earning capacity of workers, regulation, and improvement of working conditions in factories, mines, transport services and shops, elimination of contract labour, provision of medical and monetary relief to workers during sickness and provision of housing."

Taking the above facts into consideration we can safely conclude that India needs much improvement in her labour condition. In order to attain it, "there will be an increasing need for contact and co-ordination between Central and Provincial Governments, employers and workers and plans for a fuller utilisation of the newly created tripartite labour conference."

With the opening of the I. L. O., the scope for improvement has of course widened, but still little is being done according to the decisions. There is need of improving the factory conditions, hours of work, holidays, welfare work, housing condition, social security and trade unionism, etc. All these will lead to an increase in efficiency of the Indian labour which has not as yet been attained in spite of the fact that the hours of work have been reduced and wages have been increased to a considerably high level. With the coming of the popular Government in power, we hope that everything possible will be done for improving the labour condition in India.

SANSKRIT AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

BY PANDIT AMARENDRAMOHAN TARKATIRTHA

SANSKRIT is the oldest living language of India. The literature of the Vedas, which embody all our knowledge in Sanskrit, cannot even be approximately dated. Max-müller hesitatingly placed the beginning of the Vedic literature in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. Tilak and Jacobi, on the other hand, tried to push the date much further back. Many eminent Indian scholars are inclined to date the Vedas at least beyond the eighth millennium B.C. on astronomical grounds. Without entering into the controversy, it can however be safely said that the second millennium B.C. has been accepted as the latest date for the Vedas.

Sanskrit enjoys a unity of literature and continuity of existence as no other language in the world can claim. The unity of a literature consists, on the one hand, in the persistence of a language which remains from first to last intelligible, and on the other hand in the continuity of works handed down from generation to generation. Sanskrit satisfies both these tests.

India is now politically free but intellectual freedom is yet to come. The first task of a liberated country is to resuscitate its hoary culture and tradition. But we have not addressed ourselves to this prime task of a newly-freed country. Our mind is still in chains and our eyes fixed on the West. It is only natural because all our leaders have had only western education in their life and had little opportunity to know and respect our own literature which embodies, in Sanskrit, the greatest wisdom of the world. There are exceptions, no doubt, among them but immediate interests seem to cloud their cultural vision.

The national language of India continues to be a subject of controversy. The claim for a provincial language of India to be elevated to the status of national language, naturally evokes protest and suspicion. The proposal for making Hindi the *lingua franca* was not received with enthusiasm in South India and Eastern India. Likewise a second proposal to have Bengali in that place was not viewed with approval. Again, the demand of the Muslims for the recognition of Urdu, including its script remained. Gandhiji struck a middle appeasing course and tried to have a mixed language called Hindustani to be written both in the Devnagri and Urdu scripts. After the partition of India, and specially after the adoption of Urdu as the *lingua franca* of Pakistan to the total exclusion of minority language claims, there is no reason why Hindustani or the Urdu script should degrade Indian national language and script. Just as Bihar cannot adopt Tamil or Andhra cannot accept Pushtu as her own, India is under no obligation to honour Urdu by disfiguring her own ancient language and literature.

A national language should have the following criteria:

(a) No provincial language should be belittled by it.
(b) Its wealth of words should be immense and its grammar perfect and capable of coining new words as and when occasion arises.

(c) It is able to express the highest thought and wisdom.

(d) It has a vocabulary sufficient to give expression even to technical subjects like fine arts, architecture, science, medicine, military arts and the like, and

(e) It ought to be the vehicle for the civilisation of the entire country.

Only Sanskrit satisfies these tests. Most of the provincial languages are derivatives of Sanskrit. If Hindi with its undeveloped literature can claim to be the *lingua franca* of India, Bengali can certainly make that claim with a far greater wealth of literature and an almost equal expanse. The claim of both can however be compromised by asking them to recognize the claim of mother Sanskrit. North, West, South and Eastern India can have no valid ground for objection to adopt Sanskrit as the national language. It is free from all taints of provincialism. All the provinces still maintain centres of Sanskrit learning and a great amount of inter-provincial intellectual intercourse still takes place through the medium of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit is the root of many branches of knowledge. Its transcendental scriptures like Vedas and Upanishads enjoy the admiration of international savants and are objects of intensive study all over the world. Germany, Russia, Britain and America have spent millions on the procurement, study and translation of Sanskrit manuscripts. Works in Sanskrit on philosophy, literature, astronomy, medicine, music and political economy stand unparalleled in any other language. Sanskrit works on the subjects of testing pearls and scientific machineries give only an indication that even modern technical things can be studied in that language. With its deep, wide and wealthy vocabulary, Sanskrit is the only language in India which can translate even the most modern technical books. It has recently been shown by one of our very eminent scientists that atomic energy was known in ancient India and was elaborately studied.

It is said that Sanskrit is a dead language. Nothing can be farther from truth. Sanskrit education is imparted in all the Universities, Colleges, Schools and thousands of *Tols* all over the country. English seems to be a spoken language because it is the existing State language and is the language of towns. The percentage of people who speak in Sanskrit in the countryside are much more in number than those who can speak English and their degree and intensity of knowledge is no less than the English scholars. Sanskrit was the Indian Court language till the coming of Muslims. Even a cursory study of Kautilya will reveal that it is capable of dealing with all the modern problems of trade, industry, controls, licenses, labour troubles, special tribunals etc. and can with ease be used as a Court language. Sanskrit appears to be dead because it is dead in the minds of our leaders and administrators accustomed to think and speak in English. Sanskrit is not dead, it has successfully withstood the onslaughts of Scythians, Huns and Muslims. It can once again become the glory of India and the wonder of the world only if we give it its due by replacing English with Sanskrit.

THE PLACE OF ALCOHOL IN A NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION PLAN IN INDIA

By RAMANI RANJAN CHOWDHURY,

Mica Specialist and Industrial Planner, late of the Government of India

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY USE OF ALCOHOL

THE term "alcohol" is said to have been derived from Arabic, meaning 'the best, the finest' and the name was given in the 19th century to the wine distillate by Paracelsus. The material was known in early times as the golden drink only but the chemical and biological processes involved in the fermentation of the "liquid that is capable of burning", based on the principle of fermentation and distillation, were unknown before the development of modern applied chemical science.

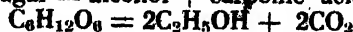
Lavoisier knew that 100 parts of sugar and 9.7 parts of water yield 59.2 parts of alcohol and 50.6 parts of carbonic acid gas. The first workable formula as given below was discovered by Gay Lussac, in principle:



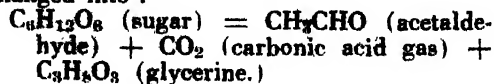
About the year 1818, Erxleben discovered that yeast constitutes organisms of vegetable origin, which cause fermentation and subsequently very real and rapid progress was made in the science of fermentation. Latour in 1837 stated that yeast is fungus, the growth and propagation of which in sugar solutions will cause them to ferment; earlier about 1834, Kützing recorded that the yeast constitutes living organisms, which was followed by the vitalistic theory of Liebig, who tried to explain fermentation as a purely chemical process of decomposition. Pasteur came thereafter with his epochal discovery that yeasts sprout or bud more readily if oxygen is introduced into the solution on which he based his alcoholic theory that fermentation is life without air. The oxygen needed for the yeast is supplied by the sugar and changed into carbonic acid, the unconsumed portion of the sugar changing simultaneously into alcohol. The more recent developments have established that fermentation is not a decomposition process for change into alcohol and carbonic acid gas but a double decomposition, as represented by the following formulae: Part of the sugar changes into acetaldehyde, glycerine and carbonic acid gas, the other part transforming itself into acetic acid, alcohol, glycerine and carbonic acid gas.

The original formula of Gay Lussac, interpreted in modern chemical language as:

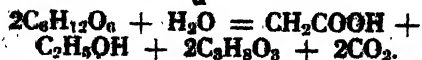
Sugar = alcohol + carbonic acid gas i.e.



is changed into:



&



i.e., Sugar + water = Acetic acid + alcohol + glycerine + carbonic acid gas.

Glycerine:—Glycerine is now produced primarily on the above formulae on the theory that the secondary sulphites enter into a very loose combination with sugar, which in aqueous solution, undergoes complete dissociation, the sulphite combining with the aldehydes producing stable compounds.

MAIN INDUSTRIAL FERMENTATION PRODUCTS

The following may be said to be the chief industrial fermentation products:

(i) Alcohols, including ethyl (fusel oil), propyl, butyl alcohols and glycerine.

(ii) Aldehydes, including acetaldehyde, acetol and furfural.

(iii) Acids like carbonic acid, formic, acetic, butyric and succinic acids.

(iv) Ethers like acetic and succinic ethers.

It may be noted here that there are as many kinds of ethers as alcohols. Only the purest ethyl alcohol is to be used for production of ether, the presence of fusel oil aldehydes, etc., being prejudicial to satisfactory results.

(v) Sulphur compounds like hydrogen sulphide, etc..

(vi) Protein decomposition products.

TYPES OF COMMERCIAL ALCOHOLS

Commercial alcohol consists of three types. (i) Alcohol for Drinking Purposes or as Beverage (ii) Industrial Alcohol and (iii) Power or Fuel Alcohol. Use of alcohol as drink is well-known and I don't propose to discuss about its production. Our national Government is already pledged to total prohibition as a nation-uplifting policy and we should accordingly discourage its production for such purpose. The other two types of alcohol are of very great national importance.

INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL (the source of heat, light and power)

This forms the basic or auxiliary material very essential for production of hundreds of chemical preparations of modern science and industry, including explosives, poison gases, airplane 'dope' and many other war essentials as well as peacetime civil needs including medical preparations and hospital requisites. Indeed "Ethyl Alcohol" is considered today as a most important alcohol for industrial and scientific use, second perhaps to water. Without alcohol, development of modern chemical industry will be seriously crippled if not totally stopped, just as would be the fate of Steel and Electric Industries, without pig iron and copper respectively. The various lines of industries requiring alcohol as a basic or accessory essential directly or indirectly are too numerous to mention which include the following:—

- (a) Solvent for resins or dyes, e.g., varnishes, lacquers, etc.
- (b) Vehicle for flavouring fruit essences.
- (c) Volatile vehicle and diluent in bringing substances into solution, including a dye insoluble in water.
- (d) Preservation medium.
- (e) Solvent vehicle for aseptic or antiseptic agent or disinfectant.
- (f) Solvent agent for nitro-cellulose.
- (g) Solvent for scents and perfumes and many essential oils.
- (h) Solvent for coating to protect steel.
- (i) Solvent for many impurities.
- (j) Alcohol solution of resin acts as an agent for vitrifiable pigment and it also acts as a vehicle for flux.
- (k) As a combustible fuel; also used as a type of "solidified alcohol" as fuel.
- (l) Volatile agent for the tan.
- (m) The ignited vapour of alcohol makes the mantle incandescent.
- (n) Alcohol acts as motive power for machinery.
- (o) As bare and accessory in the production of plastic and synthetics.

Indeed the importance of alcohol in modern progress of human activities cannot be over-estimated, both in times of peace and war. The following remarks published by Mr. John G. Capers, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, of the German Administration, and made in a statement by the Alcohol Trades Advisory Committee in 1908 (Vide Harper's *Weekly*, October 3, 1908), are very illuminating on the subject :

"Industrial alcohol is a matter of nearly as much concern to the German Empire as its army and navy; in fact, the elder Emperor inaugurated the industry for the primary purpose of having the source of light, heat and power within the Empire, independent of petroleum products, of which Germany has none. That wise old Emperor, realising that some day, his empire might be forced, in time of war, to be self-dependent and resourceful within its own borders, determined to be independent of petroleum products, all of which were and still are shipped into Germany from other countries and an elaborate paternal system was inaugurated, to insure as the government's ultimate safety source of light, heat and power, the Alcohol, which could be produced from the German potato, now so carefully cultivated for that purpose, as it has been for nearly 40 years."

India is yet industrially undeveloped, but with the progress in her extensive industrialisation under national reconstruction plans, the requirement of alcohols both industrial and power types, will be enormous. India must aim at self-sufficiency for such an important and strategic commodity. We have immense scope to plan on our vegetable or agricultural resources for this purpose, much more economically than other countries, even including U.S.A., Germany, France or Great Britain, who are handicapped in one or the other natural factors, compared to India.

POWER OR FUEL ALCOHOL

Ethyl alcohol, as a motor fuel, used in admixture with gasoline or aromatic hydrocarbon distillates, has been in use in very large quantities in countries like U.S., Germany, U.K., France, South Africa and elsewhere. The composite motor fuels, containing 30 to 40 per cent alcohol with an equal or larger proportion of gasoline, along with smaller percentages of benzene and ether, can be vaporized by the ordinary carburettor and are used nowadays in engines rather more satisfactorily than gasoline alone. Between alcohol and gasoline, the former is found to be more than 100 per cent efficient and economic than the latter in respect of both compression pressure and thermal efficiency. In U.S.A., alcohol is the most serious competitor of gasoline. The producer of two-thirds of the world's crude oil and consumer of four-fifths of it, the United States has to import annually vast quantities of this material from overseas and large-scale attempts are in progress to produce alcohol in gigantic plants for mass production, so as to reduce the dependency on foreign sources for supply of such an essential commodity.

WHY ALCOHOL PREFERRED OVER GASOLINE

The factors that call for use of alcohol as power independently or in admixture with gasoline or other oils are the following:

- (a) Alcohol resources, being the product of vegetable bases, are inexhaustible, which is not the case with gasoline or other mineral oils. Potato, sugarcane and similar sugar-yielding vegetables can be grown by planned scientific farming in any large quantities.
- (b) Gasoline even of the highest grade aviation type, is not entirely satisfactory as a motor fuel, at least for aircraft. Impurities present therein cause corrosion difficulties. Detonation troubles have been serious and its use has not been found very economical on account of its difficulty in use at high compressions. (*Industry and Engineering Chemistry* Vol. 15; No. 5, May, 1925 by H. A. Gardner of the Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department, U.S.A.)
- (c) Ready miscibility of alcohol with gasoline at all temperatures and in all proportions.
- (d) Lower productive cost in case of alcohol.
- (e) Freedom from gum-forming constituents or corrosive agents so that it does not attach or plug up valves or affect the interiors of the internal combustion engines and chambers thereof.
- (f) Unlike gasoline, alcohol is of anti-knock character and prevents detonation.
- (g) It gives greater mileage but no pre-ignition.
- (h) Greater and easier control of power produced by alcohol or in its suitable admixture.

(i) Alcohol generates less heat in combustion engines needing consequently less cooling water; the cylinder temperature being lower the cylinder lubrication factors are eliminated, reducing the carbon deposits to almost the nil point.

(j) Alcohol fire is more readily extinguishable by water, whereas in case of gasoline-fires, water more readily inflames and spreads it. Even if diluted to 50 per cent with water, alcohol continues to operate an engine.⁵

USE OF ALCOGAS IN AVIATION AND AUTOMOBILES

Alcohol fuels have been developed for use in airplanes. High-grade gasoline for aviation purposes can be advantageously replaced by an admixture of alcohol, benzol and ether. Apart from the saving in air-mileage, it reduces the chance of forced landings by keeping the spar plugs and engine cylinders, free of carbon deposits and oil accumulations. The motor using alcohol is reported to give at least 25 per cent more power than gasoline. Alcohol

having oxygen in its molecular composition, requires less air for its combustion than gasoline, thus taking less B.T.U. for the heating of this air.

South Africa has developed a process patented under the name of "Natalite", which is an admixture of 95 per cent ethyl alcohol, ether, pyridine (ammonia or themethylamine) and a denaturent like arsenic acid. On similar principle, a material "Ethulite" has been developed by the admixture of a large percentage of alcohol and a small proportion of ether. It eliminates the chance of violent explosions, usual with the use of gasoline and other motor spirits. The wear and tear in the motor and the car is much less, due specially to the more smooth runs, than with gasoline.

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SOME ASPECTS OF INDO-MUSLIM POLITY

By Y. KRISHAN

AN outstanding feature which strikes a student of Indo-Muslim history is the numerous and rapid changes in rulers and dynasties which occurred during the Sultanate period at Delhi. The Ghories were followed by the Slaves, the Khiljis, Tughlaks, Lodhis, Sayyids and the Suris in a short span of 300 years. Dynasties were short-lived.

But with the coming of the Great Mughals, an important change is noticeable—the succession comes to be confined to the Mughal house. Rebellions for the throne were many, but, unlike what happened before, they were mostly confined to the members of the royal family.

The dynastic instability of the Sultanate period was primarily due to an absence of law of succession in the State. This was a legacy which the Muslim invaders of India had brought from abroad. During their nativity, the Arab Muslims were democratically organized. The Caliph was merely an elect of the faithful; in fact, he was one of the so many ordinary citizens of the Islamic State. The Muslim brotherhood was the sovereign body.

This democratic feature of the Arab polity suffered perversion due to force of circumstances.

As the boundaries of Islam widened and as the number of the faithful swelled, the election of the Caliph by all the believers became impossible, because the Muslims like the Greeks and the Romans, failed to evolve a system of representation. The famous phrase "Democracy dies five miles from the parish pump" is eminently applicable in this case. As the "ancient City State expanded into the empire of Alexander and Caesar, self-government disappeared because representation had not been developed." This phenomenon repeated itself in the annals of Islam.

Not that the elective principle was discarded, on the contrary, the Muslims clung to it. Anybody who had power enough could set himself up as the Caliph

or the Sultan and he always kept up the fiction of election unimpaired by getting himself elected by a handful of his followers who would form the "faithful" and elect the ruler. It was the impossibility of real election on the one hand, and the keeping up of the fiction of election on the other which powerfully militated against the evolution of a peaceful law of succession. The inevitable sequel was that 'sovereignty became a privilege of the mightiest.' Military adventures could flourish in such circumstances. Thus we find in the annals of the Sultanate in India, anybody who was powerful enough could set up as the ruler on the throne of Delhi. There was nothing in the Muslim law to prevent rebellion against the authority of the ruler and succession to the throne came to be regulated by the sword. It meant the survival of the fittest—fittest in terrorizing people into submission, e.g., men like Balban and Alauddin. It inevitably produced adventurers, military regimes and armed despotisms, for only a militarist could hope to scotch any challenges to his authority. The kaleidoscopic changes on the throne of Delhi were the inevitable consequence of the virtual absence of law of succession.

To buttress their authority further in the eyes of the Muslims, to give it a cloak of constitutionalism, the Sultans of Delhi recognised the Khalifa, they became his self-appointed lieutenants which incidentally demonstrated the unity of the Islamic world. The fiction of Khalifat had a chequered history till it was finally shed by the Mughals. It is doubtful if it had any material effect on the fortunes of any house or ruler and it died of its inherent futility.

But in the 'law of succession' there came a welcome change with the Great Mughals.* They, it must

* The fact that Humayun was succeeded by his eldest son Akbar does not indicate that the change had started earlier. That is merely an incident.

be recognised, made no attempt to evolve a law of succession. Rebellions for the throne, to say the least, were not infrequent and the War of Succession among the sons of Shahjahan is a striking example of the fact that the death of the ruler was a signal for a scramble for power. In fact, the "absence of law of succession" was responsible for the struggles and intrigues among the members of the Mughal house for the Crown, but this factor now operated in a different milieu and thereby suffered a transmutation which made the sceptre the prerogative of the Mughal house.

Akbar was responsible for the revolution in Religious Policy which assured religious freedom to the non-Muslims. Religious discrimination or persecution was a notable feature of the pre-Mughal period. It was the removal of religious disabilities, nay, the positive support which Akbar gave to other religions that won him and for his family the support of the overwhelming millions of non-Muslims that inhabited India in general and of the Rajputs and the Hindu bureaucrats in particular. One cannot over-estimate the psychological reaction that this policy must have produced among the non-Muslims towards the Mughal house. Previously these people had been indifferent, nay, even hostile to the fate of the dynasties for obvious reasons. But now they had a stake in the Mughal line with which was associated the policy of religious freedom. None but a member of the Mughal house could rebel for the throne, in which case now the non-Muslim at least could be expected to remain neutral. For others, their inevitable hostility would not only dim but also imperil the chances of success. It was Akbar's religious policy that assured Mughal rule a surprisingly long span of life.

With the abandonment of that policy by the able Aurangzib, the empire fell. But even then the Mughal dynasty weathered the storm. It had stayed too long and that fact had affected Muslim mind so deeply that the Muslims had come to believe that the Mughals were destined to rule India. Time, vigour of their administration and their brilliant achievements had cast a halo round the Mughals which the policy of Aurangzib could not destroy. Possibly the Hindu belief about the Divine origin of Kingship had come to affect the Muslim mind too. The tremendous hold which the dynasty had come to have on people's minds is shown by the fact that even the Marhattas maintained the Mughal Emperor when they occupied Delhi. Thus after 1709 adventurers might play the role of king-makers but it was unimaginable for them to aspire for kingship. It was this change in the law of succession which mellowed down the military character of Indo-Muslim polity by narrowing the field from which any threats to royal authority could be expected and enabled the civil administration to be developed.

As a result of the Revolution in Religious Policy, the Muslim State in India was secularized. In fact, the process in that direction had started earlier with

Alauddin Khilji. Alauddin was eminently a practical ruler and placed the interest of State above everything else and over-rode religious considerations where necessary. This process was however, unfortunately, reversed under Feroze Tughlak. But it is to Akbar's credit that he established the first Muslim secular state in India. The State ceased to be theocentric.

The secularization of the State found its philosophical expression in the new concept of sovereignty propounded by Abul Fazl and its practical expression in the transformation of the character of Indo-Muslim bureaucracy. In Islam, Muslim law as represented by the Quran and the Hadis is sovereign, and the duty of the Caliph or Sultan is to interpret and enforce the law. The Shar is the only guide in all matters. But now Abul Fazl held that the king must be above religious differences; he should act as circumstances demand and be guided by reason rather than by any canonical authority. According to Abul Fazl, a monarch would be unfit for his exalted office unless he showed equal consideration for all religions. The change in the concept of kingship is significant. It has been rightly observed that for Abul Fazl's monarch "both Islamic law and Hadis cease to be the Code of his government . . .".* It found its concrete expression in the changed character of the Mughal bureaucracy.

The process in that direction had started earlier, though in a different way. The rise of the Khiljis was an eyesore to the Turks who had hitherto monopolised all the power in the State. Naturally they had to accept the inevitable sullen hostility of the latter who in their impotent rage would not co-operate. The Khiljis had to depend upon the Indian Muslims, who, having no pretensions to power, were dependable. The socially inferior status of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks broke the spell of Turkish superiority. The return of the Turks as Mughals to power did not reverse this process. On the contrary, Akbar's religious policy threw open the gates of public services to non-Muslims. Ability became the criterion of recruitment. The Hindu genius which hitherto could not find ample scope, was now yoked in the service of the State and had an active interest in the Mughal house. Todar Mal, Man Singh, Birbal, Jai Singh, Jaswant Singh stand out pre-eminently in the galaxy of Mughal administrators.

The coming of the Great Mughals, thus, marks a watershed in Indian history. The other innumerable achievements which they had to their credit—reorganization of public services, land revenue reforms, territorial conquests, patronage of art, to mention a few—would not have been either achieved or been lasting but for the strength which the State had now acquired through the changes in its texture.

Dynastic instability ceased; the Mughal House was firmly planted in Indian soil. The State was secularized and thereby broad-based. On this was reared the greatness for which the Mughals are called 'Great.'

* Ibn Husein : *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 61.

A GLIMPSE INTO ATOMIC RESEARCH

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THE word 'atom' has become so common today that some newly floated company has been named as "The Atom Ltd." whereas only two years ago the word was unknown to almost all except a very few. Today it is just the opposite; almost everyone knows what an atom is, or I would rather say what colossal power the atom possesses. But it will not be far from truth if I say that besides knowing that the atom is the smallest indivisible part of every element, very few know the intricate details of the inside of an atom. So I believe it will be an interesting story if I attempt to give here an outline of the present-day knowledge about the atom and how that knowledge has been developed step by step.

INTRODUCTION

An atom, as you all know, is the smallest indivisible part of any element keeping intact all the characteristic properties of that particular element, and it is indivisible only in this sense that if it is broken it does no longer exhibit the properties of that element. It then reduces itself to one or more completely different elements.

The composition of an atom was the main subject for investigation during the second decade of this century and this led to the most fundamental discovery that each atom is a miniature solar system in which the position of the sun is occupied by a positively charged nucleus round which very minute negatively charged particles are revolving just like the planets round the sun. This discovery was due to Lord Rutherford and Niel Bohr. Since an atom as a whole is electrically neutral it is obvious that the total positive charge of the nucleus must be equal to the total negative charge of the particles circulating round it. These negatively charged particles are called electrons and each of them carries a unit of negative charge. It follows then that the number of electrons in an atom must be equal to the number of units of positive charge possessed by its nucleus. This number is fixed for every kind of atom and is called the atomic number of the element. Elements can have only integral positive charges on their nuclei, and the smallest integral *unity* is the atomic number of the lightest known element hydrogen. The second in atomic number order is helium, nitrogen is seventh, oxygen eighth, iron twenty-sixth, silver forty-seventh, gold seventy-ninth and uranium ninety-second and was previously believed to be the last in the list of elements. The numbers associated with each element given here are their atomic numbers, meaning thereby the number of units of positive electricity on their nuclei.

ISOTOPES AND CONSTITUENTS OF NUCLEI

Next in importance comes the atomic mass, which is also roughly expressed in whole number. Thus the mass of a hydrogen atom is one, that of helium four, oxygen sixteen, silver 108 and uranium 239. The mass of an atom is very nearly equal to the mass of its nucleus, for the mass of the electrons revolving round its nucleus is insignificant in comparison with that of the nucleus. Since atomic numbers are always integers the atomic masses of elements are also expected to be integral multiples of the smallest mass unit—the mass of the hydrogen atom. Curiously enough, it was found that chemical methods of determining the atomic mass of an element, in which a lump of the substance (*i.e.*, an assemblage of billions of atoms) is used, give a fractional value for the atomic mass. An ingenious instrument devised by F. W. Aston, revealed the cause of this fractional nature of the average atomic mass of a particular element. Aston introduced a very large number (billions and billions) of atoms of a particular element into his apparatus and found that the atoms were divided into two or more discrete groups and the atoms of each of these groups possessed an integral mass number. An element, which was supposed to be of homogeneous atomic mass, was now found to be a mixture of two or more groups of different atomic masses, just as apparently homogeneous white light is really a mixture of seven colours. The apparatus invented by Aston is known as mass-spectrograph and is an indispensable instrument in atomic research.

Each group of atoms thus separated by the mass-spectrograph is called an *isotope*. For example, the atoms of carbon are separated into three distinct groups of mass 11, 12, 13 and each of these groups is called an isotope of carbon, *i.e.*, carbon has got three isotopes. We find that the isotopes of a particular element have different atomic masses but all of them the same atomic number, which is the amount of positive charge on all their nuclei. The mass number thus varies from isotope to isotope in an element, whereas the atomic number is an absolute constant for the particular element.

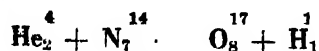
So far we have said nothing about the constituents of atomic nuclei. Let us now enter into these details. Nuclei of all elements consist of two kinds of particles called protons and neutrons, the former are positively charged while the latter are electrically neutral. The discovery of the *neutron* as a constituent of matter is due to J. Chadwick of England and is another landmark in the history of atomic research. If neutrons and protons are the only particles inside a nucleus, it is easily seen that the atomic number gives the number

protons inside a nucleus since each proton carries a positive charge while the mass number is equal to the sum of the number of protons and neutrons in it. Thus carbon has atomic number six which is the number of protons inside all carbon atoms; but it has three isotopes of mass number 11, 12, and 13 which means that the total number of neutrons and protons in carbon atoms may be 11, 12 or 13. Or, in other words, the number of neutrons in one isotope of carbon is five, in the second isotope six and in the third seven. Put in a nutshell we say that *isotopes of a particular element differ only in their neutron number*. This is of fundamental importance in understanding the following.

BREAKING OF ATOMS

According to the above principle, the helium atom should have two protons inside its nucleus since its atomic number is two and two neutrons must also be present because its atomic mass as determined by the mass spectrophotograph is four. The helium nuclei are also called α -particles, which were first discovered by Madame Curie as one of the three kinds of emanations that were spontaneously coming out of the element radium. This phenomenon was called radioactivity and a few other elements also showed this property. It was however subsequently found that α -particles emitted from radioactive substances are the same as helium nuclei, i.e., an α -particle is a bundle of two protons and two neutrons.

If you want to shoot a mosquito, you will not merely aim a gun at it; you will try to have a bullet smaller than a mosquito. Similarly scientists also realised that in order to shoot an atom for breaking it they must have bullets of dimensions smaller than the atoms to be broken. The α -particles continuously emanating from radioactive bodies were very convenient bullets of atomic dimension and Lord Rutherford first made use of them in bombarding the nitrogen atom. He discovered that when nitrogen atoms were subjected to bombardment by α -particles a few of them changed to oxygen atoms and a proton was emitted in the process. The change is shown as follows:



The change is brought about in the following way. Nitrogen nucleus (mass 14 and atomic number 7) catches one α -particle (mass 4 proton number 2) hereby changing to an element of mass 18 and proton number 9. This latter element is very unstable and emits out a proton thereby reducing to an element of proton number 8 and mass number 17 which is nothing but an isotope of oxygen. This transformation of nitrogen into oxygen was the first evidence of artificial change of an element into another. This experiment of Rutherford is of utmost importance and has so far changed the course of atomic research in its present direction. From this time scientists in different parts of the world started experiments on bombarding different elements. But the main problem

was to get suitable projectiles as bombarding agents which must be very fast and very minute.

The hydrogen nuclei i.e., protons, like the helium nuclei (α -particles) were also convenient. But it was necessary that the protons should be very fast so that they could overcome the natural repulsion of the positively charged nuclei on which they are directed. This was overcome by E. O. Lawrence, who had been able to construct an apparatus by which protons or in fact any charged particle could be given very high energy. I hope you have all heard the name of this instrument which was given the name "Cyclotron." The technical details of the cyclotron is too complicated to be given here but the principle of its working is to make the proton move in a circular path by means of a magnetic field, and in each rotation it is given a bit of energy by means of an electric field. The proton is made to rotate a large number of times (more than thousand) inside the apparatus so that when it comes out it becomes sufficiently fast to produce disruption in other atoms. Another projectile used in atomic research is the *deuteron* which is the nucleus of an isotope of hydrogen of mass 2, discovered by Urey. Deuteron is thus a bundle of a neutron and proton or half of an α -particle. The cyclotron can also produce very fast deuterons if hydrogen of mass 2 (which is generally called heavy hydrogen) is introduced inside it instead of ordinary hydrogen.

But the disadvantage of all these projectiles (α -particles, protons and deuterons) is that they are all positively charged and hence are strongly repelled by the positive charge of the nuclei of atoms, and would be brought to rest before they can penetrate a large thickness of matter. The *neutron* on the other hand being an uncharged particle does not lose energy due to repulsion from the positive charge of nuclei and hence can penetrate many times the distance penetrable by protons or other charged particles. The convenience of neutron over other projectiles was easily recognized and scientists began to bombard all the known elements with neutrons and we shall presently see that the results were revolutionary.

THE DISCOVERY OF FISSION

Thousands of nuclear reactions (the first example of this kind of reaction has been given before) have been investigated by scientists using the four kinds of projectiles at their disposal and their investigations disclose that every nucleus must have a *binding energy* for holding the protons and neutrons together inside it. This is seen more clearly when we consider that the protons being all positively charged must be repelling each other very strongly when packed close together inside a nucleus and hence some attractive force must be required to bind them together in order that they may not fly apart. This kind of force does actually come into play when protons and neutrons come very near to each other and is known as nuclear force.

Now the question arises *where does the nucleus of an atom get its binding energy?* The answer to this

question was provided long before any nuclear reaction was discovered. Einstein proved from the theory of relativity that mass and energy are really equivalent to each other, one gram (approximately 1/500 of one pound) of mass being equivalent to 9×10^{20} ergs or units of energy. If we take the proton (whose mass is 1.66×10^{-24} gram) as the unit of mass then one unit of mass is equivalent to $3 \times 10^{20} \times 1.66 \times 10^{-24}$ i.e., 1.49×10^{-3} erg, or energy units. You must clearly grasp this equivalence between mass and energy before you can follow what is written below.

It was found that the mass of any atomic nucleus was always less than the sum of the masses of the individual protons and neutrons inside them, and the difference between the two provides for the binding energy of the nucleus. Let us take an example. The masses of proton and neutron have been very accurately measured; they are 1.00758 and 1.00893. The total mass of two protons and two neutrons then comes to $2 \times 1.00758 + 2 \times 1.00893 = 4.03302$. The helium nucleus is made of two protons and two neutrons; but its atomic mass as determined very accurately by the mass spectrograph is 4.0028. Thus it is found that the mass of the helium nucleus is less than that of two protons and two neutrons by an amount $4.03302 - 4.0028 = .03012$ mass unit or .00045 erg. This amount is called the mass defect of the helium nucleus and actually provides for the binding energy of the helium nucleus. We may then say that the energy content of the helium nucleus is less than the total mass energy of two protons and two neutrons by the above amount. The neutrons and protons have been found to behave similarly in many respects and are in general called *nucleons*. The mass defect per nucleon of helium will then be $.00045 \div 4 = .00011$. This quantity is called the packing fraction of the nucleus. A greater packing fraction for a nucleus means a smaller energy content. Hence it is obvious that if a nucleus of smaller packing fraction breaks up into two nuclei of larger packing fractions, energy must be liberated in the process, for the total energy content of the resulting nuclei would be smaller than that of the parent nucleus.

We have already observed that experiments were afoot with the neutron as bombarding agent and the effect of bombarding the *uranium atom with neutron* was very interesting. The uranium atom is of mass 239 and atomic number 92 and was believed to be the last in the list of elements. But it was found that two new elements of atomic number 93 and 94 were produced when uranium was bombarded with neutrons. In January, 1939, Prof. Otto Hahn obtained definite chemical evidence of the presence of barium in a sample of pure uranium that was previously subjected to neutron bombardment. The atomic number of barium is 56 and mass number 140. Hahn's discovery proved conclusively that a nuclear reaction must have taken place in which the original nucleus (U_{92}^{239}) has given birth to another of atomic number much less

than itself. This reaction was completely different from the reactions hitherto known in which nuclei of atomic numbers near about that of the parent nucleus were formed. This type of reaction has been called *fission* indicating that the original nucleus breaks up into two fragments much smaller than itself. It was subsequently discovered that the other resulting nucleus in uranium fission is of mass 40.

From the experimental data already existing it was found that the mass defect of the resulting nuclei in the fission of uranium was considerably less than that of uranium nucleus. The fission of uranium then must evolve energy equivalent to the difference in mass and this anticipation was exactly verified by experiment. The energy released by each split-up uranium nucleus is of the order of .00016 erg. In half a pound of uranium there are 10^{23} atoms of uranium which means 16×10^{18} ergs of energy would be produced if all the atoms in half a pound of uranium are split. In heat units this energy is equivalent to 4×10^{11} calories. Now one pound of coal gives by burning about 4×10^6 calories of heat. We find then that the energy released by the fission of *half a pound of uranium* would be equivalent to the burning of 100,000 pounds of coal. Imagine now the gigantic power hidden in a uranium atom.

THE CHAIN REACTION

Fortunately or unfortunately it was found that in the fission process not only does the uranium nucleus break up into two fragments, but on an average two neutrons are also emitted in the process. We have to bombard uranium with *neutron* in order to produce fission and strangely enough we get *more neutrons* as the fission occurs. Attention of scientists was therefore naturally concentrated to make use of these *fresh neutrons* to cause fission of more uranium nuclei. If this attempt succeeded, a few neutrons released inside a lump of uranium would automatically bring about the fission of the whole lump. One nucleus after another would be split up in a chain by the neutron released in the fission of the preceding nucleus. Neutrons which cause fission must be of medium energy, that is, too fast or too slow neutrons would not produce fission. But the neutrons released in the fission process were very fast and could not as such give rise to new fissions. This difficulty was overcome by putting absorbing materials of suitable thickness in their path so that their velocities were reduced and neutrons emitted in the fission process have been successfully used to produce more fissions. We have now come to a stage where the fission process is not only an established fact but can be carried out automatically by the fissile atom itself. It has been said that the discovery of fission is as revolutionary as the discovery of fire in ancient times. I believe you can now realise the truth behind this statement. ■

"THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

On August 15, 1947, when the British Government relinquished its sovereignty over India and two dominions of Union of India and Pakistan came into existence, without a bloody revolution but through peaceful agreement, it was universally recognised that this process of revolution in India was a victory for real statesmanship. Those who are familiar with the then existing political situation in India have given full credit to Mr. Gandhi and his political philosophy of "non-violent non-co-operation" or "non-violent resistance" for this peaceful transformation.

Gandhi has never claimed himself to be a political philosopher, while he considers himself to be a religious man engaged in experimenting with Truth—Satyagraha. As a great political leader of nearly 300 millions of people of India, his political ideas are of some consequence; but Gandhi has not written a systematic political philosophy of his own. The author of the work under review is a member of the faculty of Political Science of Lucknow University. He, from a careful study of Gandhiji's writings and speeches, has presented a valuable study of the subject.

To Gandhi, like ancient Hindu sages, politics cannot be divorced from religion; because there is a "moral and ethical basis" of State. Thus every statesman, entrusted with the task of administering a State, is bound to carry out his moral obligations to the people—fellow men—to serve their highest interest, which lies in furthering the cause of brotherhood of man *Ahimsa*, which involves goodwill to all creatures, is the central ideal of his political philosophy. Gandhi is not the originator of this conception, as it has been also the teachings of the Upanishad; Gautama Buddha preached this doctrine and Jesus and other great religious teachers professed it. The author in one chapter of this work gives interesting information on those who were forerunners of Gandhi. The author, however, contends that Gandhi is the first person who has made an attempt to apply his political philosophy systematically in individual, social and political life of man, national State, revolution, international intercourse, international organization and the new world order. It

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is impossible to give a comprehensive review of the work in the available space but it seems to the reviewer that the author has excellently summed up the most fundamental character of Gandhiji's political philosophy in the following passage:

"The philosophy of *Satyagraha* is the philosophy of the integral man. To Gandhiji the real being in man is the spirit. The spirit is one in all and the service of the community in every sphere of life is one way to realize this truth . . . Thus Gandhiji's political theory is an organic part of his philosophy of life. The isolation of politics from moral principles in the name of science or realism is, to him, a trap to kill the soul. The method of non-violent resistance is a great contribution of his to the philosophy and technique of revolution. With greater thoroughness than any other thinker in the history of political thought he has explained how non-violence and democracy are integral parts of each other and how each can operate successfully only along with the other. His conception of democracy, in which every individual has acquired the capacity to resist non-violently misuse of authority, in which the dissent of the minority gets the maximum consideration and which is characterised by "the magnanimity of the majority" is in advance of the Western conception of democracy. In the absence of non-violence as the ruling principle of life, Gandhiji discounts the ethical pretensions of democracies in the West and regards them as an instrument of exploitation.

"Similarly Gandhiji rejects the view of some of the Western economists that economics should be dissociated from ethical valuations. To him there is no sharp distinction between economics and ethics. His views on economic questions are an expression of his conviction that man's moral well-being must not be subordinated to the profit motive and money values and that economic activities like the rest of the human conduct should be so planned as to advance and not hurt moral welfare. Thus Gandhiji humanises economics by subjecting it to the suzerainty of ethics."

Columbia University,
New York City

* *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* by C. N. Dhawan, Bombay. The Popular Book Depot, 1946. Pages 354, Index. Price Rs. 8-8.

"FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS"*

By TARAKNATH DAS

HISTORY of Poland, Ireland, Ukraine and other countries provides a lesson that partition of a country for the purpose of appeasing certain unreasonable minority claims does not bring peace but civil war. To bring about unity in diversity federation and not partition is the remedy. However to satisfy the Pan-Islamist minority, by most unstatesmanlike act, India has been partitioned on religious communal basis. This has

plunged the unhappy country into a state of Civil War, in the Punjab and Bengal, parts of which have been incorporated in Pakistan. This will not only embitter relations between the dominions of Indian Union and Pakistan, but become a new troublesome factor in world politics of tomorrow.

But the fact that should not be overlooked that by partition the minority problem has not been solved; because there will be nearly 20 million Hindus in Pakistan and the same number of Moslems will be in the predominantly Hindu area known as the Union

Fundamental Rights by M. Ramaswamy. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1946. Pages 252. Appendix and Index.

of India. It has been pointed out by competent Indian authorities that the internal situation of the Union of India and Pakistan in relation to minority issues has assumed the state of a government by holding hostages. In fact, threats are being hurled by responsible leaders to the effect that "if you ill-treat the Moslem minority we shall ill-treat the Hindu minority." This will mean virtual negation of human rights among minority groups of citizens. Such a situation can be averted and mended only through constitutional guarantees upholding "fundamental rights" of man.

Indian political leaders have often declared that in the future constitution of free India, there must be provisions for a "Bill of Rights." The work under review is a constitutional and juridical study with particular reference to India in the light of the experience of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The author is a distinguished lawyer of the High Court of Mysore and gives the ideal behind the study in the following sentences :

"My study of this subject does not stop, however, with the mere conclusion that a Bill of Rights

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is desirable for India. . . It is my earnest hope that the present study, though primarily undertaken in the interests of India, will make an appeal beyond its confines. For, the problem of safeguards for basic human rights is after all a general human problem, which transcends all limitations of race, religion and territory . . ."

The book will be of value not only to political scientists and sociologists but to constitutional lawyers. The author in his discussions of (a) The Case of Constitutional Bill of Rights, (b) The Due Process Clauses in the United States Constitution, (c) The Contract Clauses in the United States Constitution and (d) A Draft Bill of Rights for New India, has made detailed reference to some two hundred American and British law cases involving issues of human rights. In the appendix the author presents his draft of a Bill of Rights, at least a portion of it may be utilised in the new constitution of India. This study has been sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs. Thus it indicates the spirit of political thinking among the most responsible Indian scholars.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR: By Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Revised Second Edition, 1946. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 2.

Far and away the best book on the economics of the spinning wheel. Mr. Gregg, who is a lawyer, was an operative in a cotton mill in order to gain first-hand knowledge about the industry. He shows how the basis of true economy should be not mechanical efficiency but the well-being of human beings. Today's civilization is based upon the stored power-reserves which we disinter from the bowels of the earth; but the foundation of a stable social and economic order can only be laid upon a source of power-supply which shall never fail. In this respect, cottage or decentralized industry based ultimately upon the conversion of solar energy into work through the mechanism of the human body offers such a foundation.

Mr. Gregg's entire treatment of the subject is original and thought-provoking. We hope it will dispel doubts even where it may fail to convert.

ON TOUR WITH GANDHIJI: By Bharatan Kumarappa. Aundh Publishing Trust, Aundh. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.

Mr. Kumarappa accompanied Gandhiji during his tour at the end of 1945. He writes delightfully about

the experiences he gathered in course of his travels in Bengal, Assam and in Madras. One also gains an interesting sidelight upon the character of Gandhiji as it has presented itself to a sensitive and discriminating mind.

GANDHI: By Carl Heath. Published by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Ltd., Agra. First Indian Edition, 1946. Pp. 66. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Carl Heath is sympathetic towards India's national aspirations; and he has also an admiration for the moral aspect of Gandhiji's life and teachings. He has however failed to appreciate the stand taken by the latter during the last war.

THE MAN, GANDHI: By G. Ramchandran. Gandhiji Era Publications, Madras, 1947. Pp. 79. Price Re. 1-4.

In this brochure, Shri Ramchandran gives us a pen-picture of Gandhiji as well as an estimate of his personality on the background of the present conflict between the civilizations of the East and the West.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MAASIR-I-ALAMGIRI (a History of the Emperor Aurangzib—Alamgir—1658-1707) : By *Saqi Mustad Khan*. Translated and annotated by *Sir Jadunath Sarkar*. *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*. Pp. viii + 350. Price Rs. 10.

A great gap in the original sources of Indo-Muslim history has at last been filled up. The Asiatic Society had printed the Persian text of this book in 1871, but no translation of it into English had been made up to now. Hence, while the official histories of Babur, Akbar and Jahangir were available in English, the long and eventful reign of Aurangzib could not be studied from original sources unless one knew Persian. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made an English version of this book and enriched it with notes and corrections from the other sources (esp. Marathi) used by him in his standard *History of Aurangzib* in 5 volumes. The type is clear and distinct, the division into chapters, the dates (both Hijera and Christian always given together) and sub-headings and above all the very full index with plenty of cross-references (prepared by Prof. N. B. Roy) will make it most convenient to use.

The Persian texts included in the (old) Bibliotheca Indica series were disfigured by careless editing, misprints and omissions. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has collated the Persian printed text with the help of an old manuscript secured in Patna and thus made it as correct as possible.

The author, Saqi Mustad Khan, was an admirer and disciple of Aurangzib. The religious policy of that Emperor must be taken to have been correctly enumerated by such a historian. This is what Mustad Khan writes about Aurangzib's treatment of the Hindus : "The Lord Cherisher of the Faith learnt that in the provinces of Tatta, Multan and especially at Benares, the Brahman misbelievers used to teach their false books in their established schools . . . issued orders . . . to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels . . . and put down the teaching and public practice of the religion of these misbelievers" (pp. 51-52). According to the Emperor's command, his officers had demolished the temple of Viswanath at Kashj (p. 55). During this month of Ramzan the Emperor . . . issued orders for the demolition of the temple situated in Mathura, famous as the Delhra of Kesho Rai . . . The idols . . . set with costly jewels were brought to Agra and buried under the steps of the mosque of the Begam Sahib, in order to be trodden upon (p. 60) . . .

"He issued orders to the high Diwani officers that from Wednesday, the 2nd April, 1679, in obedience to the Quranic injunction, 'till they pay commutation money (*jazia*) with the hand in humility' . . . *jazia* should be collected from the infidels (*zimmi*s) (p. 108).

"Orders were issued at Court and in the provinces that no Hindu except Rajputs should bear arms, or ride elephants, palkis or Arab and Iraqi horses (p. 224).

"By one stroke of the pen, the Hindu clerks (writers) were dismissed from the public employment" (p. 314).

The great merits of this Emperor are faithfully recorded on pp. 312-317.

No serious student of Indian History, or of the origin of the Maratha, Sikh and Jat nations, can afford to be without a copy of this book.

B. N. B.

A PEER INTO BURMA POLITICS (1917-1942) : By *N. C. Sen, formerly Advocate, Rangoon High Court*. Published by *Kitabistan, Allahabad*. Pp. 85. Price Rs. 4-8.

The book is a bird's-eye view of Burma's life as it was being affected by its inclusion in India and as it

developed after separation from Burma after World War II. Within the few pages the author has been able to give us a few hints and suggestions, some knowledge that will enable us to understand the Burma before the Second World War. But in the winter of 1947, the book is out of context. Aung San's leadership and his murder are symptoms of change that can be hardly understood by the author's yard-stick. We in India are naturally interested in the fate and fortune of the more than 10 lakh Indians who earned their livelihood in Burma, half of whom had fled from Burma in December, 1941, and January-February, 1942. Very few of these have returned to Burma. But yet there is a "Indian's Problem" in Burma. The Indians will have to choose between India and Burma. In making such a choice, the book under review, is not much of a help. It is an elementary book that can be of use to the publicist.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INTRODUCING INDIA (Part I) : Published by the *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*. 1946. Pp. iii + 171. Price Rs. 8.

This is an age when learning has ceased to be the preserve of the few and forms the common possession of the people. Hence the present monograph published by this learned and honoured body has an appropriateness and utility that cannot be gainsaid.

In the preparation of this treatise more than a dozen writers, of whom almost half are Indian Civil Service men, have given of their very best, and the contents form a mixed assortment of topics ranging from "Temple of India" to the "Food and Game Fishes of Bengal", from "Art in Gandhara" to "Jungle Life in Bengal", from "Travels of Marco Polo" to the "Impact of War upon the Industries of India." The great merit of these articles, is that they have the informal, nevertheless authoritative quality of good common-room talk and hence are very much suited to the layman who has no time for erudite works.

The book under review very fittingly opens with the "Temples of India" which, as monuments of art and living symbols of the religious development, will remain an abiding source of interest and attraction. Seven good illustrations in a number of plates portray the temples from Gandhara to Sanchi, Tigawa to Bhuvaneswara and Konarak. This paper is naturally followed by the "Gods and Goddesses which with their myriad shapes and features would always stimulate the curiosity of the inquisitive." The interesting topic as to the various racial elements that compose the people of India and the origin and evolution of Law in this ancient country are, tersely discussed in two other papers.

Medieval or Muslim India is presented to us in the paper "Three Mughal Ladies" delineating the life and character of Nur Jahan, Mumtazmahal and Jahanara. The writer here not only overshoots his mark by indulging in irrelevant talks e.g., the question of the identity of the master-craftsman who designed the Taj but also by a facile generalisation of the "women of the House of Timur" being "learned in the lore of state-craft, and past mistresses in the arts of diplomatic intrigue and wire-pulling" and in a felicitous remark on the harem-life as being "rich, varied and creative." Let the reader contrast it with Sir William Muir's remarks. By this harem system, says Muir, an authority on Islam, woman is excluded from her legitimate place and function in social life . . . This may be little loss to her but by this unreasonable system mankind at large, beyond the harem's threshold, loses the grace and brightness of the sex and the purifying influence of its presence, again he continues,

by polygamy and concubinage, direct offshoots of the harem—"the unity of the household may at any time be broken; the purity and virtue of the family life weakened, and the vigour of the upper class sapped," *Caliphate*, pp. 594-595. The shock is greater when the writer is found recounting the cool courage and military prowess which Jahanara displayed in fighting against the Bijapuris in 1684 A.D. But alas! she whose sorrow and self-immolation excite the pity of the historian (*vide* Sarkar's historical essay "Jahanara, the Indian Antigone," in the *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, 152-154) and move the French poet (Leronte de Lisle) to invoke her disembodied spirit, *ibid*, pp. 150-151, had left the mortal abode on 6th September, 1681. (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Eng. trans., 131). And it was not Jahanara but *Jahanzeb Banu*, the daughter of Nadira Banu and Dara Shukoh, who distinguished herself by repulsing the enemy attack on her camp during Azam's absence. Such historical inaccuracies need not detract from the merit of an otherwise interesting paper.

Bengal is sketched in two papers by two eminent scholars—Drs. R. C. Majumder and B. C. Law. One "Bengal as Clive Found it" lifts the curtain over a dramatic episode in Bengal history, viz., Siraj's hostility to the English and their expulsion to the swamps of Falta and leaves the reader on the tip-toe of expectation for the succeeding Act. The other by Dr. Law unfolds a panoramic view of the historical sites of Bengal. The distinguished writer uses the art of compression and writes with practised lucidity, so that Visnupur and Tamralipta, Plassey and Murshidabad, Triveni and Karnasuvarna, Gaur and Pandua, Paharpur and Mahasthangarh pass before us like the scenes in a canvas. Aboriginal life in India claims the attention of two papers, of which Cuthshaw's "The Santhals" is very illuminating.

Modern India or India of British creation and statesmen and scholar who have sought to build a bridge between the East and the West have been left out of the scope of this book and would possibly be treated in part II of this series. The selection has been made judiciously and credit is due to Dr. K. N. Bagchi and W. G. Griffiths for bringing out this introduction to India.

N. B. Roy

SELF-KNOWLEDGE (Atmabodha) : *By Swami Nikhilananda. Publishers, Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 17 East 94th Street, New York 28, N. Y., U. S. A.*

This is a translation of a Sanskrit booklet attributed to Sankara. There is a long and elaborate Introduction in which the author discusses many salient points of Vedanta philosophy. The Appendix contains translation of some of the more famous hymns (*stotras*) also attributed to Sankara.

It is difficult to preserve the rhythm and charm of Sankara's inimitable style in a translation into a foreign language. But the author has done his best. For those who cannot read Sankara in the original, this translation will be a helpful guide.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

MAHATMA GANDHI : *By Romain Rolland. Translated by Rishi Das. Published by Oriental Book Company, 9 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pages 155. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The original book was published in 1923 when Romain Rolland had no occasion to meet Mahatma Gandhi. The book depicts a portrait of Gandhiji as he

appeared through his writings and activities to the great French savant. In 1931, Rolland met Gandhiji when the latter was returning to India after attending the Round Table Conference. That was a great event as it was a meeting of the two greatest men representing the East and the West. Since then their relations were closer and mutual appreciation more thorough. Rolland died in a German concentration camp in 1944. Gandhiji still serves his country and humanity.

The volume under review is nicely bound and well printed.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HAMARA BHOJAN : *By Mahendranath Pandey. Mahendra Rasayanashala, Katra, Allahabad. Pp. 271. Price Rs. 4.*

Here is a book, the need of which had long been felt by all Hindi-knowing people. It is a kind of a pocket manual on dietetics, full of useful and scientifically tested information. It should be in the hands of every family. For, proper diet being an important condition precedent to good health, a sound knowledge of dietetics applied to day-to-day menu is like taking out an insurance policy against disease. The book deserves to be included in the school curriculum, specially in girls' institutions.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **STRI PURUSHA MARYADA** : *By K. G. Mashruvala. Paper cover. Pp. 136. Price As. 12.*

(2) **JIVANNAN JHARNON** : *By Ranjibhai Manibhai Patel. Paper cover. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 2-8.*

(3) **MARUKUNJ** : *By Mathuradas Trikamji. Paper cover. Pp. 180. Price Re. 1-4.*

(4) **URDU LIPI SHIKSHIKA** : *By Hansraj Jain and Giriraj Kishor. Paper cover. Pp. 112. Price As. 12. Published by the Navjiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1946.*

Book No. 1 is the 3rd edition of Mr. Mashruvala's work on the limitations in contact between man and woman in wedded and unwedded state. It is based on the background of orthodoxy and austerity; all the same the problem is handled in a very able and liberal spirit and is worth deep consideration. The author of the second book called *Streamlets of Life* has been one of the very first followers of Gandhiji in South Africa and India. His "Streamlets" flow into every river-current of the life of Gandhiji both in South Africa and India, and in addition, by the side-lights it throws into every activity, political, social, and economical, of the present times, it furnishes interesting reading as all auto-biographies do. Mathuradas Trikamji, Gandhiji's nephew, was a victim of T.B. By means of the study of books bearing on the subject of that fell disease, living in salubrious climate and regulating his diet, he was able to check its growth. He has put down his personal experiences in the third volume, for the guidance of the public. Dr. Jivraj Mehta has written a foreward, and Mr. Kashinath Trivedi has rendered the Gujarati text into easy Hindi. This Hindi version has been noticed here. The fourth book, although called a Primer of Urdu Lipi (Script) consists of 31 chapters, explaining the details of the Urdu alphabet, and the technique of the script, in such a way as to guide a self-learner.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Indian Renaissance

Prabuddha Bharata observes :

"One of the greatest causes of India's misery and downfall," writes Swami Vivekananda, "has been that she narrowed herself, went into her shell as the oyster does and refused to give her jewels and her treasures to the other races of mankind; refused to give the life-giving truths to thirsting nations outside the Aryan fold."

The truth of the above statement comes home more forcibly and painfully when we see the fortress of ancient Indian culture pierced by the impact of foreign cultures. We are glad in this connection to note the appeal issued by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the celebrated savant in America. Writes the *Hindu Organ* :

"The younger generation of go-getters that comes to America to study and that will largely shape the course of India's social and educational policies in the immediate future is, for the most part, as ignorant of India's traditions and cultural values as any European might be and sometimes even more so; and just because of this lack of background, cannot grasp the American and European problems that confront it. Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already denatured, quite as much as Lord Macaulay could have wished them to be, 'a class of persons of Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.' Because they have yet to 'discover' India they have not realized that the modern world is no longer an integrated culture but 'an organized barbarism and a political pandemonium.' They have no moral courage 'to be themselves without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else than had their predecessors on whom a so-called Western education had been more forcibly imposed in missionary colleges or government-controlled universities. It will take many a long year for Indians to recover their spontaneity. For the present most of our 'educated' men are just as much as Americans dominated by current catch-words of 'Equality,' 'Democracy,' 'Progress,' 'Literacy,' and so forth. In the past and still today Indians have earned and deserved much of the contempt of Europeans whom they have flattered so sincerely by imitation of all their habits and ways of thinking. We too are on our way to become a nation of Shudras at the same time industrious and ignorant. Notwithstanding that all the precepts of philosophy refer to life we have learnt from the modern world to despise the lover of wisdom and to leap before we look."

What India wants today is immense faith in the greatness of her culture. Continues Dr. Coomaraswamy :

"Our problem is not so much one of rebirth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it. This culture is valid for us not so much because it is Indian as because it is culture. At the same time its special forms are adapted to the specifically Indian nature and inheritance and they are appropriate to us in the same way that national costume is appropriate to those who have the right to wear it. We cut a sorry figure in our foreign or hybrid clothes; and

only invite the ridicule of foreign musicians by playing the harmonium . . . Again, throughout the ages, India has been a land of profound religious convictions and of equally generous religious tolerance. Here at least if nowhere else it is still possible for men to think of their own faith as the friend and ally of all others in a common cause. It has been said that in the West religion is fast becoming an archaic and impossible refuge. But in India it still provides for both the hearts and minds of men, and gives them an inalienable dignity; and because of this, the natural connection of religion with sociology and politics has never been broken. There is no such opposition of sacred to profane as is taken for granted in the West; in our experience culture and religion have been indivisible; and that in our inheritance is what we can least of all afford to abandon.

"Indian women at the present day and so far as they have not yet been 'brought up to date' are our best conservators of Indian culture. And let us not forget that in a country like India any judgment of standards of culture in terms of statistics of literacy would be ridiculous; literacy in the modern world of magazines and newspapers, is no guarantee of culture whatever; and it is far better not to know how to read than not to know what to read."

While admitting the necessity for building up a strong and powerful nation which can lengthen its arms to every corner to protect the weak and preserve peace, we should remember that political greatness or military power is never the mission of our race. Says Dr. Ananda :

"In the meantime also there is an immediate and desperate need for the establishment of cultural, and not merely economic and political, contacts with the rest of the world. No doubt, the West is very largely to be blamed for its own cultural isolation which amounts to a very real provincialism; but blame is also ours, for our students and other representatives abroad are oftener engineers or physicians or politicians than men of culture—where they ought to have been both at once, able to contribute something more than their fees to those from whom they come, to learn the newest techniques. When the culture that we know and propose to restore was alive, learned men of foreign countries came from far away to study in India. The measure of our culture is not that of our ability to learn new tricks but that of what we have to give."

Formula for a United World

An Interview with Dr. John Haynes Holmes

The Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes came to India early in October as Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Visiting Professor for the Universities of India, under an appointment from the Watumull Foundation. He is the Editor of *Unity* (Chicago) and the author of many thoughtful books, including *New Wars for Old* and *Religion for Today*. Taking advantage of his presence in Bombay before he started on his lecture tour, a member of the staff of *The Aryan*

Path interviewed him on his prescription for a United World :

The subject on which his views were requested was evidently a congenial one to the tall, white-haired man with serious eyes and courtly manner, and one to which he had given much thought.

His prescription, he said at once, was threefold, political, economic and spiritual or religious, and he by no means considered the last the least important ingredient.

From the political point of view the need was, he said, "to have a world organisation like the United Nations, only it has got to work, as the United Nations is not working." He was a great believer in the United Nations, which offered the only workable plan for unity among the nations in the world today, but he recognised its terrible defects, of which the veto power was the most conspicuous. He hoped that changes would be possible to make it an effective world union, with a world constitution.

He had scant patience with the reluctance to give up national sovereignty in the absolute sense. That was the price of a united world. Unification meant the merging of responsibilities and powers, as in marriage, in which husband and wife had voluntarily to surrender their individual sovereignty but got something better, a union of souls. That was why marriage worked. The same was true in the international field. Each nation had to surrender to all the others the selfish, aggressive, arrogant aspects of national sovereignty and to merge its faith in the common destiny of mankind.

The United States had been faced with the same problem after the Revolutionary War, when the thirteen States were to be brought together into a union based on a written Constitution in the spirit of which they could unite and which would provide a mechanism of unified operation. Each State had to surrender a large portion of its sovereign powers. The point where all were willing to do so was not reached for seventy years, or until after the Civil War.

There was no use fooling ourselves. World union was an imperative necessity and it should be brought about now, before it was too late. Atom bomb control, for instance, had to be surrendered to a responsible international body.

The economic problem also was a serious one, the problem of poverty, of the inequitable distribution of wealth. We had reached the point in economic history where we knew how to produce enough to support the world's population. But if we had solved the problem of production we had not solved that of distribution. Even a country like the U. S. A. had its slum dwellers, its share-croppers. Everywhere the poor were struggling for food and trying to maintain themselves. Sooner or later the perpetuation of that economic problem was going to bring us into war. The economic causes of war were, perhaps, the predominant causes. War had broken out again and again "because of economic extremity."

World unity must be based on a just economic system, by which Dr. Holmes meant a system which would distribute to all the workers the wealth that they had produced.

The economic problem between the States of the North American Union had been solved in a sense when it was agreed that all the wealth of the country should belong equally to all the States and not to any one of them. Texas, for example, was overflowing with oil and New York did not have a drop, but all the oil in Texas belonged equally to New York. There were no inter-State duties; there was no denial of access to supplies. There remained only the socialisation of the capitalist system to bring about an equal distribution of this wealth.

In contrast to this, the struggle for selfish possession of natural resources was general in the world. The oil in Arabia belonged to the one who got there first with his money. A unified economy and the sharing of all natural resources fairly was absolutely basic to world unity. Once you got a universal economy you were going to get a common level of living. The idea that America was going to have a higher level of living, permanently, and other countries a lower level was fantastic. Of course, resistance was to be expected from those who would lose by a common level of living. The resistance to changes in the American immigration laws came chiefly from organised labour's reluctance to have cheaper labour available in the country. But just as water sought its own level, so, once you broke down the economic barriers, a common level of living would follow inevitably.

A great revival was needed.

Every great religious revival, Dr. Holmes maintained, had to begin with a great personality. There was no such dynamic individual in the West today "Until he comes I do not know what we can do except to keep the light burning." He thought the present period like the Dark Ages, when the spirit of man seemed to have died, except that there was a Christian movement which kept the light burning in monasteries and in the hearts of men until it could be brought out again. "Sometimes in my despondency, almost despair of our time, it seems to me that all that we can do today is to keep the light going until the time comes when it can blaze forth again."

There came moments in history, he said when men became exhausted, when mankind, like individuals, got tired out. Such a time there was in Greece in the Peloponnesian War. After the Periclean Age the Greeks were exhausted; there were limitations to what men could do. Similarly the Romans became tired. They had marched so far, they had conquered so many peoples, they carried such a burden that they were no longer able to function. There were times when men became disillusioned and had to have time to recover faith.

The reassuring thing was that this phenomenon was never completely universal, though he thought that it had a more nearly universal aspect today than ever before. Parts of our world, however, were awake and changing rather than dying. India, for instance, India was entering upon a new and greater period of her history. India might be regarded from that point of view as one of the great hopes of mankind today.

America's isolationism, he said, was a thing of the past.



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The Second World War had taught Americans that nations suffered or prospered together, that we were brothers, and that if war started anywhere the fire was bound to spread. Provincialism had yielded place to a real international spirit and Americans recognised their responsibility to help the rest of the world with the food which they had and others lacked.

There had always been ideals in America and when she had been truest to herself those ideals had come to the fore. The ideals of the sanctity of the individual, of human equality, of getting along together in good fellowship, of "Justice though the heavens fall!" were widely held and to a large extent practised.

The great blot on American life had been the treatment of the Negro, which was a shame and a humiliation, but all progressive and enlightened people were more keenly conscious of this disgrace to their democracy than even before, and more anxious to remedy it. Negroes were being admitted in increasing numbers to occupations traditionally closed to them. There were Negro subway drivers and Negro tram conductors in New York, Negro clerks and clerical workers, Negro policemen, even Negroes teaching white students in Northern colleges.

As to what America's chief contribution to a united World would be, Dr. Holmes thought that it was practical achievement, in which the United States led the world. Skilled work was valuable to society but, unfortunately, America's technical achievements had largely absorbed the American consciousness, leading to wide-spread materialism and love of pleasure and of power.

Dr. Holmes was enthusiastic about the possibilities offered by a fusion of what America and India each had to give. India through her long history had gone deeply into the problems of the Spirit. She came close to Reality. If you equipped India with the machinery of living that America had produced, if you gave America a Soul, then there would be, in Ezekiel's vision of the wheels, the God in the machine. America had the wheels, and they were bringing her to death. India had the Spirit. If you put together the "Know How" of America and the "Secret" of India, you ought to have a model civilisation.

Sir Edward Appleton

Nobel Prize Winner in Physics, 1947

S. K. M. writes in *Science and Culture* :

The award of the Nobel Prize for Physics to Sir Edward Appleton will delight all who have known of his fundamental contributions to the science of radio and its applications. It has been amazing how Sir Appleton, to call him by his more familiar name—Appleton, has made use of radio waves as a tool for investigating such diverse geophysical phenomena as, for example, storm centres, magnetic field intensity above the surface of the earth (300 km.), atmospheric tides at high levels, detection of meteor trails, and, so, emission of these waves from the sunspot and from the milky way.

But to the non-specialist Appleton is perhaps best known for his work on the elucidation of the nature and of the radio wave propagation phenomena in ionized regions of the upper atmosphere known as the E-layer. It was in 1904 that Kennelly in America and Heaviside in England propounded the hypothesis that radio waves are guided round the curved surface of the earth by being reflected from a conducting region in the upper atmosphere. The hypothesis was considered very plausible but a direct proof as to the existence of the conducting region was lacking for

a long time. The proof was first furnished by Appleton with his associate Barnett in 1925 when they observed that radio waves from a distant station arrive by two distinct paths, one direct—moving along the ground (ground wave) and another indirect—reflected from the high ionized region (sky wave). Very early in his study on ionosphere, Appleton made the remarkable discovery—a fact which is now taken almost for granted but which at that time was by no means obvious—that the ionosphere was stratified, as it were, into a number of layers. The uppermost layer which is the most intensely ionized is named after him 'Appleton layer.' Appleton, however, modestly refers to it as the F-layer and the one underlying it at 100 km. he called the E-layer. Once he was asked why he chose the letters E and F instead of the more obvious ones A and B. And he replied this was to leave room for undiscovered layer below the E-layer! His surmise proved correct; an absorbing ionized region which causes weakening of radio signals has been found below the E-layer. This is called D-layer. Appleton was also the first to point out that the magnetic field of the earth will have a profound influence on the propagation phenomena of the radio waves through the ionosphere. He developed the so-called magneto-ionic theory and showed how the propagation properties (refractive index, polarization, absorption) are related to the magnetic field intensity and the intensity of ionization in the ionosphere. All the consequences of the magneto-ionic theory are fully borne out by observations.

It can be said without exaggeration that it is to Appleton, more than to any other single individual, that we owe our present knowledge of the ionosphere.

The development of radar which has revolutionized modern warfare also owes much to Appleton's work. As a matter of fact, the principle of the estimation of the height of ionospheric layer is a kind of radio location, the difference being that the object to be located by radar is a body of much smaller extension like aeroplane. The amount of the incident radio wave energy which such a body returns by scattering is necessarily very much smaller than that by the ionosphere. The problem of making an estimate of the energy is extremely important in the design and development of radar apparatus. Appleton's work has done much to clarify this problem. From his investigations in this subject Appleton was able to predict that it would be possible to obtain radar echoes from the moon. This, as we all know now, has already been achieved.



Sir Edward is a great organizer. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research of England is fortunate in having him as its chief executive head. About three years ago, when the war was still on, the author of this note had the opportunity of attending in England a meeting of the Ultra-Short Wave Panel of the Ministry of Supply. The body had been set up by Sir Edward and he humorously described it as his own child. He had collected round him in this Panel about two dozen specialists—physicists, mathematicians, meteorologists, radio-technicians, electrical engineers and spectroscopists to work on problems associated with the propagation of micro-waves through terrestrial atmosphere close to the ground. Each was assigned an aspect of the problem in which he was an expert. The results obtained by the different workers when collated ensured quick progress and success in the shortest possible time. It was pleasant to see how these experts—some of them of international reputation—worked together as a single team under the guidance of Sir Edward.

Sir Edward's great talent for organization was also utilized by the British Government in scientific war effort.

Sir Edward was appointed a member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the War Cabinet in 1941 and the main burden of organizing atomic research in England devolved upon him. He established the 'Directorate for Tube Alloys' (a camouflage name) under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Directorate planned and conducted researches on controllable nuclear chain reaction in all its aspects with the ultimate object of utilizing the results in atomic explosions. Under the supervision of Sir Edward, the Directorate made notable contributions to the development of atomic bomb.

Sir Edward was born in Bradford, Yorkshire and is now 66. He held successively professorial chairs of Physics in King's College, London and in Cambridge. On the retirement of Sir Frank Smith in 1939, he was appointed Secretary to the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, which post he still holds.

Sir Edward is an original thinker of rare ability. He has an intuitive mind and is gifted with a penetrating insight which enables him to get straight at the root of a problem. He is known personally to many scientific workers of this country and is in constant touch with the ionospheric investigations here. Sir Edward lent his services, on more than one occasion, to the University of Calcutta for examining doctorate theses.

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Historical Studies in Independent India

C. C. Das Gupta observes in *The Indian Review* :

It has been accepted by all scholars that India is one of the earliest civilised countries in the world. That India was such is known from the study of a number of evidences which we have got of the contemporary civilised world.

India came into close contact with the British from the eighteenth century. From that time there is the beginning of an enquiry into the history of India by a number of well-known British historians and archaeologists. The methods which were then applied for the knowledge of the history of our country were rather quite new even in Europe. Though the Britishers became interested in Indian history and culture, still for want of a proper respect for India because she was conquered, all their studies in this line became vitiated.

Nothing has been up till now done for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical documents in a truly national scale. The result of this is the common saying that India does not possess much historical material for the reconstruction of her history. There cannot be any statement farther from truth than this. India does not lack historical materials; but what she lacks is the suitable arrangement for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical documents.

In the 19th century the Indian Archaeological department was founded and the work done by this department, so far as it goes, is quite laudable; but it is regrettable that it does not go very far.

In 1940 Lord Curzon passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act for the protection of monuments in British India.

This Act is quite praiseworthy but as no work has been practically done to serve the inner meaning of this Act, the very purpose for which this Act was passed is not at all fulfilled. It must be accepted that any historical document, however small and insignificant it might appear to the ordinary eye, is to be very carefully protected. If we accept this view, then we must be awestruck by the appalling neglect of historical documents in India. There are thousands of priceless gems of historical documents which are being so much neglected that we must be ashamed of what we are doing in this sphere.

The following are the suggestions which I should like to offer in this connection:—

(1) The proclamation that all historical monuments, whether small or big, are of utmost national importance.

(2) The proclamation that all manuscripts, big or small, are of utmost national importance.

(3) Endeavour must be made to keep all historical documents intact. It is a shameless thing that throughout the length and breadth of India we find utter neglect of the priceless gems of Indian monuments and manuscripts.

We should now point out the measures by which this can be done. It is not possible for any national government, however sympathetic it might be, to arrange for the discovery, preservation and study of all the historical documents because of the vastness of the problem. What is essentially required is that the people of the country should themselves understand the importance of these things. If the general people can understand the value of these things, then they will voluntarily come forward to shoulder their responsibility; but the vast illiteracy of India is standing in

the way of this understanding. The literacy of India does not go much beyond 12 per cent of the total population and we must be ashamed of this appalling state of education in India. Up till now there is no general spread of education among the Indian people. It is absolutely necessary to impart education through the medium of the mother tongue from the lowest to the highest stages, to make one Indian language a compulsory language for study by all and to keep one international language, possibly English, a language for study by only the advanced students and those who will be required to go out of India.

With the spread of education everyone will gradually realise that it is essential for him to help in the keeping of the historical documents intact.

The following are the suggestions which I like to throw for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical monuments:

(1) The expansion of the Indian Archaeological department on a truly national basis.

(2) The creation of the Historical and Archaeological societies in each district of India by the national government for the discovery, upkeep and study of Indian historical materials. This is the most important step which the national government should take.

(3) The close co-operation between the Indian universities and the Indian Archaeological department. Up till now there is absolutely a lack of this important outlook with the result that the Indian universities have practically no material to work upon while in the Indian Archaeological department there are heaps of material remaining unattended for want of a sufficient number of suitable men in the department.

(4) The closer co-operation between the Indian Archaeological department and big colleges in some cultural zones of India where there are no universities. In India there are a very few universities and it is for this reason that some colleges should be treated as universities for this purpose because the few existing universities of India cannot possibly give an idea of the historical materials which are in each district of India.

(5) The establishment of a large number of research institutes to study these historical materials. India is sadly in want of them and unless these are founded, there is no chance of the proper study of the historical materials of India.

It is well-known that from time immemorial India was known to the outside civilised countries; but nothing has as yet been done to study this phenomenon in all its details. Up till now in India the history of other countries has been studied in the most abnormal manner. History of other countries has been studied with the help of only secondary text-books and no attempt has been made to study the history of other countries with the help of original sources. So the study of the history of other countries in India has been uninteresting and unproductive. It is, therefore, necessary to make a thorough revision of the whole syllabus of history as prescribed for study in Indian universities. Secondly, suitable and proper arrangement should be made for the study of the history of other countries in the proper manner with the help of original sources. Thirdly, it is necessary to establish a number of museums of foreign antiquities in India. This can easily be done by purchase as well as by exchange of antiquities which are duplicates. Lastly, it is necessary to send a number of suitable candidates abroad for the proper training in the line.

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India and the Indian Ocean

In an article, entitled "India—Past, Present and Future," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1947, Dr. Taraknath Das quoting K. M. Panikkar, points out how India and the Indian Ocean will play a vital part in the future world politics :

Serious students of history are well aware of the fact that, even before the days of Alexander's invasion of India and since then, India has played an important part in world politics. Today India's position in the "balance of power" is singularly significant. In the world of to-morrow, free India, with her strategic position, vast population and resources, may serve as the most important single factor affecting world politics, because the balance is shifting in Asia, and India is the heart of Asia.

Mr. K. M. Panikkar, in his brilliant essay *India and the Indian Ocean*, presents a connected story of the influence of sea power on Indian history and discusses supremacy in the Indian Ocean in its relation to world politics and India's national defense. In the chapter on the Hindu period in the Indian Ocean he gives some insight into Hindu sea power as a factor in India's past greatness and substantiates the thesis that one of the causes of the loss of Indian independence was the failure of the Hindus to maintain command of the sea, a fact which is often overlooked by students of Indian history. He gives a vivid account of the role of the Arabs, the Portuguese and other Powers in controlling the Indian Ocean and of Britain's role in establishing an empire in India. No European Power, which did not have control of the Atlantic, could maintain its supremacy in the Indian Ocean, and, without the control of the Indian Ocean, there could be no security in India. British supremacy in the Indian Ocean made British rule somewhat inevitable.

Mr. Panikkar foresaw the outcome of World War II and the rise of American influence in the Indian Ocean:

America has developed considerable interests in the Middle East. Oil concessions in Saudi Arabia and in Iran, not to speak of the Bahrain islands indicate the growth of strong economic interests in the drainage area of the Indian Ocean. America will emerge out of the present war with global and not hemispheric ideas of strategy, and the possibility therefore has to be visualised of America entering the Indian Ocean as a major naval power (p. 87).

He also points out Soviet Russia's interest in securing a footing in the Persian Gulf, and its significance for the future of India and the whole of the Indian Ocean area:

The lines of traffic developed for the purposes of Lend Lease aid to Russia in the present war (World War II) have demonstrated the vital importance of the Persian Gulf to the Soviets. . . . The possibility of the presence of a naval power of the magnitude, resources and persistence of Russia on the Persian Gulf is in itself sufficient to revolutionise the strategy in respect of the Indian Ocean. . . . A strong military State on the Persian Gulf could make that an impregnable base and resist successfully all attacks from the sea. If that power is also industrially advanced and capable of constructing and maintaining on the sea large and powerful navies, then the Persian Gulf could become what Scapa Flow is to the Atlantic and Wilhelmshaven to the Baltic. The problem is of the utmost importance to the future of India (pp. 88-90).

Finally, for the defense of South East Asia, a naval

Power in India is bound to become a decisive factor. Thus for national defense, free India will need her own navy and will have to develop her own sea power. This is not an easy task; and the author suggests:


The control of the Indian Ocean must, therefore, be a co-operative effort of India and Britain and other Commonwealth units having interests on the Ocean with the primary responsibility lying on the Indian Navy to guard the steel ring created by Singapore, Ceylon, Mauritius and Socotra. With the naval might of Britain in the background and with the whole policy of the Commonwealth decided by a Supreme Council enabling the total power of the Empire to be brought to bear at any threatened point, such a defence of India will not be outside the range of practicability (p. 95).

This of course presupposes co-operation between Britain and India as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations or an alliance between free India and the British Commonwealth. However, the reviewer thinks that, in place of Indo-British co-operation, Indo-American-British co-operation will be imperative because common interests between India and the United States will develop, and Britain is more or less dependent upon the United States for her own defense.

India is Not Overpopulated

In the same Journal Dr. Taraknath Das upholds the view that India's population is not relatively greater than that of many other countries and concludes that her extreme dependence on agriculture and the lack of industrialisation are the fundamental cause of her appalling poverty :

India, with an area equal to that of all of Europe except Russia, has a population of nearly 400 millions. Some of the Western experts on population problems think that India is overpopulated and that even adequate industrialization will not solve the problem; because, according to their estimate, industrialization of India will tend to increase population in an overpopulated country. Dr. Chandra-sekhar, in his small but exceedingly valuable book, *India's Population: Fact and Policy*, gives us valuable data on the subject. For instance, density of Indian population is not as great as generally thought. "The mean density for all



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India does not exceed 246 persons per square mile. While this is nearly five and a half times the density of the United States of America, it is considerably lower than that of Germany, Japan, England, Italy, Java or Puerto Rico" (p. 16). It may be pointed out that, compared to many other countries, India's population has not increased with extreme rapidity. Dr. Chandrasekhar, quoting Professor Kingsley Davis, states that in India "the population, adjusted to the present area (excluding Burma), increased about 54 per cent during the period from 1872 to 1941. The United Kingdom during the same period increased 56 per cent, and if we take the 70-year period from 1821 to 1891 (perhaps more comparable to India's last 70 years) we find it increased 81 per cent (in spite of millions emigrating to America and other parts of the world). Similarly Japan during the 70 years from 1873 to 1942, experienced a growth of approximately 136 per cent." (p. 17).

Dr. Chandrasekhar rightly points out:

The crux of the Indian population problem with its inescapable corollary issues of food and agriculture is the incredible poverty of the people. With all her latent and potential wealth in natural resources—inferior only to those of the United States and the Soviet Union—India today is among the poorest countries in the world. . . . In summary, poverty, starvation and disease stalk the land, worse than the war-devastated regions in Europe and Asia. Nearly two-thirds of the population are chronically undernourished and disease-ridden. Well over one hundred million people suffer annually from malaria alone. Nearly ten million people die every year, mostly from preventable diseases, diseases of malnutrition born of poverty. The rates of infant and maternal mortality are the highest in the world. The mean expectation of life is less than half the figure for the United States.

The basic reason for this appalling condition is the nature of the existing economy which is characterised by an extreme overpressure on agriculture and the lack of industrialisation. Nearly 70 per cent of the population subsist on agriculture, and about 85 per cent are directly or indirectly dependent on the land. Barely one per cent is engaged in organised industry, and not more than five per cent derives a living from industry of all sorts, including cottage industries and handicrafts.

So long as this fundamental imbalance between agriculture and industry is not corrected, so long as the problem of poverty is not tackled at its very root, the question of raising the standard of living and the question of an improved nutritional and health standard for India will remain largely an academic one. To preach the gospel of good food, good health, good living, to the people of India, without first securing for them the means of even a bare subsistence, is as meaningless as advising the starving to eat cake when they cannot afford even bread (pp. 98-99).

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Velasquez: "Painter of Truth"

In *The Catholic World*, August, 1947, Arthur Stanley Riggs gives a fine appreciative sketch of one of the master painters of the world:

Drama as we usually think of it in terms of the more or less violent reactions of character to circumstances, does not generally associate itself with art or gather about the life of an artist. A Benvenuto Cellini, a Leonardo da Vinci and a Michelangelo are rarities in this respect. There is another type of drama, far more suggestive, more profound and stirring, even if less violent, that clings about Velasquez.

Like his magnificent predecessor Titian, Diego de Silva y Velasquez was poised, calm, thoroughly master of himself. Nothing he ever thought or said or did, so far as we know, had a single spark of the dramatic about it. Yet the setting in which he lived from 1623, when he came to Court, and his death in 1660 was so elaborately mounted, its moves so calculated by meticulous rules, and so hedged about by immemorial custom that Velasquez becomes for us the heroic figure around whom continuously played the wicked summer lightnings of palace intrigue and jealousy, the whims of a capricious monarch, the open enmity of his envious fellow artists, and the precarious patronage of an intolerant, hot-headed prime minister driving furiously upon the broad road to ruin. Most dramatic and amazing of all is the fact that we know actually so little about the man Velasquez that he moves through all this without once speaking, without even feeling, so far as the records go. His is the most astonishing story in the entire world of art, his fate after death, like that of Cervantes, serves merely to increase the compulsion of the tale, and the whole ghostly drama reaches deep into our hearts.

Criticism began dealing with him and his painting a scant half-century ago, and none of the great painters has been more sketchily treated. Indeed, until recent years Velasquez was the least generally known, certainly the least understood master of all time. Part of this public ignorance of him and his work is due to the fact that Spanish character and history are not widely comprehended. Part of it derives from the retention of all the painter's finest work—with one exception—in Spain. In part, too, the world had had relatively small opportunity to judge him because Velasquez was not a prolific worker like his great Italian predecessor Titian, and the total of the Spaniard's canvases is accordingly small.

No painter can be completely estimated by what he leaves us on canvas. To evaluate his message correctly we must have at the very least a general outline of his backgrounds, from which he cannot be separated with impunity. Only when we understand the main currents of life in an era can we grasp firmly the significance of the master's painting, of the art of the period in any field. The discussion of these seldom fully understood factors begins in this instance naturally, since "art is long," with the beginnings of Spanish nationality and unity after the swift and ruthless Moorish conquest early in the eighth century.

In the first decade of the eighth century the victorious Moors had driven the surviving Spaniards north and up into the fog-drenched, craggy fastnesses of the cold Asturian mountains. The handful of a few hundred Iberians and Visigoths selected Pelayo as their leader and made their headquarters in the grim Cave of Covadonga. In their stubborn minds was no thought of yielding to the invader. They had courage and to spare. But something more was required than fortitude, if they were to thrust back the African conqueror. Mere headlong fighting, as they knew by bitter

experience, could accomplish nothing but their deaths. The inevitable result was a pooling of every interest, a tight and permanent drawing together of every element into the closest sort of fellowship and unity of purpose under leaders who exacted instant and unquestioning obedience to any command regardless of consequences. Christians all, despising the Moslem doctrine and behavior, the Spaniards realized that the Church among them must fight side by side and equally with royalty, knighthood and commons if any of them were to survive. This need and its recognition were the flux that made practical the welding together of Church, State and People into a single politico-spiritual entity which has never had any equal or simulacrum and is as substantial today as it was when it began.

The Moor was thus directly responsible for unifying Spain as no other force possibly could, and as no other nation was ever consolidated. Not only was loyalty to the leaders of this hard-fighting, aspiring group beneficial; it was vital. King, clergy and people thought alike, had the same fiery purpose—the expulsion of the hated Mohammedan. The churchman fought both for his Faith and for political reasons; the layman fought for the same things, even though on many occasions as he struggled on through the centuries intermarriages occurred and some astonishing alliances were arranged. But the type of mind gradually bred in Spain because of these conditions and this intimate coherence of spiritual and material causes, developed a blind, fanatic devotion to monarchs, however weak or vicious, and to the Church in its least as well as in its most exalted moments. It produced an Isabella as well as a Philip II. It gave a Cortes and a Pizarro able to conquer whole peoples with but a handful of troops, and it pushed to the fore a Las Casas who dared to face a surly king, angered bureaucrats, brutal and rascally exploiters and tell them bluntly how they sinned in their ruthless treatment of the helpless *indio*. It produced, finally, a Velasquez who, through his undeviating loyalty to his weak and contradictory monarch, set that king's pleasure above his art and accordingly executed only a fraction of all that strove in his soul against the ridiculous daily tasks the master should never have known existed.

In view of all this it is not difficult to perceive the reasons why Velasquez's art is so little understood. Critics and connoisseurs of every land have studied his paintings, enjoyed them because of their clear supremacy, and failed to penetrate much beneath the surface. The lay public, occasionally seeing a possible Velasquez in a gallery or museum, accepts it at its obvious truthfulness and regards it merely as good. The subtle depths and heights of the master's conceptions and methods are lost in his effective naturalism—realism, if you prefer the older and more generic term.

"The light which redeemed us from the Roman slavery and in general from mannerism," budded splendidly in Valencia in the work of Francisco Ribalta, and from it and its successors gradually emerged the disciplined yet impressionistic naturalism, or realism, which culminated in the painting of Velasquez and took the world by storm wherever men could appreciate it. In comparison with Titian, the greatest of the Venetian masters, Velasquez produced exceedingly little. Tormo y Monso assails him savagely for "disinclination to work" and for painting only when his "basic eagerness for perfection and technical progress stimulated him; not a professional so much as a gentleman, a courtier who made holiday by serving the king with his pencil, dreaming of honors. . . . And

it is certain that never did nobility, the ultimate feeling for the aristocratic, find happier expression; the elegance of Van Dyck is more apparent, that of Velasquez more exquisite, deeper, more spontaneous, truer."

From the very first days of his eager apprenticeship in the "Gilded Cage" studio of Francisco Pacheco in Seville, Velasquez had hammered into him the vital importance of sound drawing and close observation of nature as the only sure bases for success as a painter. After five years of this teaching he married his master's daughter, Dona Juana, and in 1623 made his appearance in the charmed but vicious circle of the *Unica Corte*—the "Only Court" in Madrid. Soon appointed painter to the king, he served the do-nothing Philip IV for thirty-seven years with a whole-hearted devotion that gave his weak monarch a place in history he otherwise could not have achieved. But the favor of that king was deadly. It cost the painter, and through him the world, greatness that can be no more than dimly imagined. Velasquez's devotion to him took no heed of menial rank—he was carried on the royal pay-rolls in the same category with the court barbers, grooms, dwarfs, fools (jesters) and minor servants. He allowed his loyalty to cut down his production to a maximum of probably not more than a hundred and fifty pictures, of which today only about ninety can be considered as completely authentic. And finally, he attended so assiduously to his duties as a courtier and an official with heavy and far-reaching responsibilities, that he completely exhausted his reserves of strength. On his return from the great wedding festivities of the Infanta Dona Maria Teresa and King Louis XIV of France at the Spanish border, he could not resist an attack of fever, and died, completely worn out, in the summer of 1660.

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Volumes can be and already have been written explaining his painting, his technique, his handling of light and color, his marvellous dexterity and sense of proportion. Relatively little has been said about his penetration psychologically and of his "cruel truthfulness" in baring the souls of his sitters. But there is another side to that so-called cruelty. In the brilliant series of portraits of the Court dwarfs, fools, comedians and others, Velasquez reveals himself as a warm-hearted and sympathetic man. He did not deliberately specialise in depicting ugliness except as he had to paint the personages with whom he was surrounded. Even there, neither beauty nor ugliness mattered. It was the truth, the deeper significance of his subject that counted, that gave him an opportunity to let a careless world see what he, with the vision of a seer and the imaginative power of an epic poet, perceived. Study the faces of some of those canvases of the pets of the Court. Learn little by little how the painter brought out the infinite tragedy, the suppressed yearnings, the hate, the suspicion, the fear, the pitiful attempts to please of these wretched creatures who, even though they were bought slaves whose one purpose was to divert a bored royalty and its satellites, were nevertheless created by a Heavenly Father Who had taught one man at least to see them not as ridiculous or deformed or idiotic but as helpless souls deserving of pity and sympathy. King, who "acknowledged no superior among men," lovely young fresh-faced Princess, hard-bitten old knight or slobbering Court idiot, Velasquez read them all, made the least as important as the first among them, and at the last his tombstone bore the single line "To the Painter of Truth."

"It was enough for him to be what he was," in simple truth.

The Bahá'í Faith in India

Shirin Fozdar writes in the *World Order*, August, 1947 :

India has been from antiquity a land of heroes and saints. Long before the Western world knew the meaning of the word civilization and culture, the Indian people had risen to enviable heights in statesmanship, warcraft, literature, philosophy, economics, architecture, sculpture and arts. The fame of her greatness had spread far and wide. The entire life of the people in India was governed by the accumulated teachings of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita. A wonderful period of research continued and lasted until the advent of Christ. Large Viharas, scattered all over the country and run by selfless monks, imparted knowledge to the seekers, and contributed to the moral and educational progress of man. But unfortunately all her past glory has vanished, and she is passing through a very critical period in her history. The old moorings are being broken, as she ventures into uncharted seas, annihilating ancient landmarks. The people are craving for democracy, since the ideal of the king, hitherto held as God, has lost its hold.

In the field of industry it is apparent that the old handicrafts have been neglected under the competition of machinery ; the carriage and pair has been replaced by a car. Smooth trading has become difficult owing to unions and strikes, combines and lockouts. Luxury has taken hold of man, increasing thereby his expenditure and enjoyment. The old staid formulas have been replaced by new theories with new values.

One thing which strikes the student of ancient history more than anything else, is the revolutionary change, which is taking place in the internal condition

of the people. Barriers of caste are fast disappearing. The traditional respect for and sanctity of a Brahmin has disappeared, and he is now more relegated to the kitchen as a cook, whereas the depressed classes have revolted, and assert that there is something radically wrong with a system that condemns a man for life for the accident of birth. He, therefore, aspired, and befittingly fills even the Viceroy's council. Thus the Varna Ashram Dharma is getting the Varna (caste) knocked out of its root. Hinduism, noted for its exclusiveness, is vying with other faiths eagerly trying to convert others to its fold ; inter-marriages are growing apace ; bomb and anarchist activities have often replaced love and Ahimsa (non-violence), and curiously the people see nothing incongruous in it. On the contrary, the perpetrators of such crime are worshipped as heroes. Spiritual leanings, reverence for pilgrimage, reverence for parents and elders, the sanctity of marriage, the fidelity of the wife, the submissiveness of the daughter, have all vanished.

In the name of modernity and progress the canker of immorality is eating into the vitals of Indian society. The women assert that in a country with a population of forty crores, half of which consists of women, 33 per cent of which is leading a life of compulsory widowhood which more often is due to marriages arranged by the parents in their childhood, they could not be bound to be faithful to what remained only a memory. Husbands, according to ancient scriptures, were to be worshipped as gods, but with the idea of justice revised, women no longer feel inclined to adore a god with feet of clay.

In the field of politics, experiment after experiment was tried and failed. The cause of communal disunity enshrouds this vast continent in a grip of death. Schisms and sects having crept into various religions, each religion is again a house divided against itself. Over two hundred fifty languages prove a bar to the affinity and love which a language can create. Industries and manufacture are also not faring well, due to lack of honest men. The greed and avarice of a few having cornered the wealth of this country, watch with unconcern the starvation and poverty of the toiling millions. Only 1 per cent of this country's population enjoys 33 per cent of this country's wealth. Another 33 per cent of people share 33 per cent of wealth and the remaining 66 per cent must live on the rest of the wealth (33 per cent).

The disparity between a capitalist and a laborer being great, the worker himself is not at ease about his future. Again, India being an agricultural country with 700,000 villages, has 34 million families who are always famished, ignorant, illiterate, and unemployed for a third of the year. It is not that God has not endowed this country with sufficient fertile soil, water

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and everything essential to feed comfortably the teeming millions, but unfortunately the implements used for agriculture are as crude and primitive as those used in the days of the Vedas or Shree Krishna.

The maldistribution of land is also a great cause for this appalling poverty. Some landlords possess acres of land and gorge themselves on the sweat of their laborers, and with the income buy themselves a passage to hell by squandering their income in unmentionable ways; whereas there are others, who own such small strips of land, which in spite of all their efforts do not yield sufficiently to maintain a whole family.

The people in this country, in the name of Ahimsa (non-violence) and charity, feed the ants and the snakes, but can, if their own material interest demands, watch without compunction their countrymen starve to death. These conditions will not improve merely by trade and industrial revivals, political constitutions, increase of schools and book learning, accumulation of wealth and property. The foremost thing essential is a change of heart. The natural instincts of self-preservation, self-enjoyment and self-acquisition are subordinated by a man whose heart is filled with love for God and His creatures.

Nations rise to greatness by real worth of character, and that is based on man's inmost beliefs, whether he acknowledges it or not, and these beliefs are in reality his religion. Religion is the ideal which a man follows. It influences his character and elevates his whole life. It teaches him a true value by affirming that human life is but the beginning of a vaster one to come after death, and which depends on the way the present one is led, just as our tomorrows are the results of actions done today.

Unfortunately true religion has been strangled under the accumulating load of superstition, dogmas, sacrifices, rituals and priest-craft. The sneer and ridicule of the modern man is directed towards the dogmas and mythologies which have crept into all religions and have beclouded the truth to the extent that fact can no longer be distinguished from fiction. It is due to misrepresentation of true religion that interested people have made it a cause for disunity, communal disharmony, hatred and discord, through which the perpetual enslavement of this country to some outside power is assured.

At such a time when religion is at its lowest ebb and humanity so thoroughly wayward we are assured by Shree Krishna, in the Gita:

"Whenever there is decay of righteousness, O Bharat, and there is exaltation of unrighteousness then I Myself come forth, for the protection of the righteous, for the destruction of the evil-doers; for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness I am born from age to age."

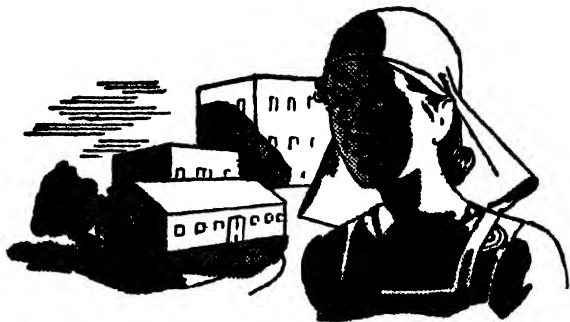
As if in fulfillment of this promise a call was raised in 1863 by Baha'u'llah (Bharo Devasia or Glory of God) in Persia (Arya Varta), the land of the Aryas. He proclaimed to have arisen to uproot irreligion and to establish the truth, for He claimed to be the universally expected Manifestation.

Soon the clergy and the government combined in their efforts to nip this movement in the bud. Baha'u'llah, Who had been brought up in the lap of luxury, being the son of a minister of Persia was soon imprisoned with His family. He was branded, bastinadoed, and made homeless, a captive, and despoiled of all His goods. He was transferred from one prison to another, until in 1892 after forty years of confinement He

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passed away on 28th May at the age of seventy-five. Fortunately the enemies of Baha'u'llah could not confine His Message behind prison bars. It spread and enveloped the whole of Persia. Lack of any education and the firm belief in their being the chosen people of God, enabled the Shi'ih Muslims of Persia to perform the most rapacious deeds without the least compunction. It is estimated that nearly twenty thousand gave their lives in order that their blood may water the seed of love and brotherhood sown by Baha'u'llah. Thus today we find the followers spread throughout the nook and corner of the globe, trying to encourage, enlighten and cheer those who have lost faith in the goodness of man.

In these pages we shall refer to the blessings which His message can bestow upon this unfortunate country in its hour of need.

Students in China Protest Civil War

The Manifesto, issued by the students in China is commented upon by a *Worldover Press* correspondent as being not anti-foreign but pro-peace :

Shanghai.—Now well organised on most college campuses throughout China, students have been carrying on a campaign against the civil war. They have shown admirable restraint in the face of violence, but they feel that their casualties are less important than the difficulty of getting their real views known to the public, both in China and abroad.

Three of the most liberal Chinese papers in Shanghai have been closed by the Government and reporters from even more of them have been arrested. So the students have had a very unfair press, and the common people even in this country are not getting the whole picture nor learning of the atrocities being committed.

Recently the students have tried to be heard through "An Open Letter to the Peoples of the World

from the Students of Twenty Colleges and Universities of China on the Current Student Demonstrations." The aim of this "new student movement," states the letter, is to support "the principles of peace, in this case an end to the civil war and a desire for a free democracy."

The letter goes on to describe China's present war chaos and the students' attempt in Nanking on May 20 to present a petition to the Government, appealing to it to "provide food for the starving, to stop the civil war, to avert the educational crisis and to bring in a democratic regime." Sixteen colleges and universities in Nanking, Shanghai, Soochow and Hangchow sent students to the peaceful demonstration.

The student procession was attacked by police, gendarmes and secret agents, armed with iron bars, whips and similar weapons. Unnecessary brutality left 104 students wounded, a number seriously. Then the reassembled procession, still unresisting, was met by cavalry and other military units with machine guns and tear gas.

Similar encounters have taken place in Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin and Hangchow. This gross violation of the right of petition, the students point out, "runs counter to the Provisional Constitution of the Period of Political Tutelage of the Kuo Min Tang." It violates furthermore, the "outlines of the Joint Administration recently promulgated by the new cabinet."

In the press outside China, such demonstrations have been played up as Communist-inspired attempts to "get the United States out of China." Much nearer the central meaning of this new student movement is the appeal which closes the "Open Letter." "Students all over China are united in aim in the face of the present darkness. People in all walks of life support us. A New China of freedom and democracy will come into existence. For the sake of world peace, for the well-being of mankind and its future, we earnestly hope that people all over the world, you people who love freedom and desire peace, will stretch out hands of friendship."



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